

BULLETIN 178

**SOCIAL NETWORKS IN
GREAT WHALE RIVER**

BY

JOHN J. HONIGMANN

1962

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DEPARTMENT OF NORTHERN AFFAIRS AND NATIONAL RESOURCES

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**Notes on an Eskimo, Montagnais-Naskapi, and
Euro-Canadian Community**

SEP 20 1967

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Bulletin No. 178

Anthropological Series No. 54

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Euro-Canadian Community**

By

John J. Honigmann

With Appendix by Frances N. Ferguson

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DEPARTMENT OF NORTHERN AFFAIRS AND NATIONAL RESOURCES
CANADA

1962

ROGER DUHAMEL, F.R.S.C.
QUEEN'S PRINTER AND CONTROLLER OF STATIONERY
OTTAWA, 1962

Price \$1.00

Cat. No. R 93-178

PREFACE

During the summers of 1949 and 1950 I was able to visit Great Whale River with my family and in 1949 with a student assistant also, Nathan Altshuler, through the generosity of the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. I take this opportunity to express anew my gratitude to the Foundation for the extent to which it then and on other occasions enabled me to enrich my ethnographic and general anthropological experience.

Professor Nathan Altshuler, now at the College of William and Mary, gave real help in the collection of data. I also had the benefit of learning from Professor Hans Hoffmann's experiences in this community. The stimulation to write up my field notes came from Mr. Asen Balikei, whose material on a later and much-changed Great Whale River Eskimo community, now that it is published, richly supplements this report. Mrs. Frances Ferguson volunteered to score and interpret difficult Rorschach protocols, and I am much indebted to her for her original insights into Eskimo personality structure. With her, I acknowledge the help of Professor E. Earl Baughman, Department of Psychology, University of North Carolina.

The present work was completed while I was a member of the Institute for Research in Social Science of the University of North Carolina. I acknowledge with appreciation the assistance I received through this appointment and from Mrs. Frances Schnibben, the office manager. At the National Museum of Canada, Dr. Tom McFeat read the manuscript.

Pseudonyms are used in the following account where they are necessary to protect personal anonymity. They are exclusively employed in the appendix, which is devoted to the analysis of Rorschach records.

For the reader who wishes to consult complementary published information on the Great Whale River Eskimo, the following titles are available:

John J. Honigmann, "An Episode in the Administration of the Great Whale River Eskimo" (*Human Organization*, Vol. 10, No. 2, 1951, pp. 5-14).

John J. Honigmann, "Intercultural Relations at Great Whale River" (*American Anthropologist*, Vol. 54, No. 4, 1952, pp. 510-522).

Irma Honigmann and John Honigmann, "Child Rearing Patterns among the Great Whale River Eskimo" (*Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1953, pp. 31-50).

John J. Honigmann and Irma Honigmann, "Notes on Great Whale River Ethos" (*Anthropologica*, n.s., Vol. 1, Nos. 1 and 2, 1959, pp. 106-121).

The next reference contains only unanalysed data. For a very brief analysis of those data, see the publication listed below of which I was co-author with Richard Carrera.

John J. Honigmann, "Draw-a-Person Tests of Seventeen Great Whale River Eskimo Children" (*Microcard Publications of Primary Records in Culture and Personality*, Vol. 1, No. 8, 1956).

John J. Honigmann and Richard N. Carrera, "Cross-Cultural Use of Machover's Figure Drawing Test" (*American Anthropologist*, Vol. 59, No. 4, 1957, pp. 650-654).

Asen Balikei, "Relations inter-ethniques à la Grande Rivière de la Baleine, baie d'Hudson, 1957" (*Contributions to Anthropology, 1959*, in Bulletin No. 173, National Museum of Canada, 1961, pp. 64-107).

J. J. H.

Chapel Hill, North Carolina,
Sept. 10, 1960; April 2, 1961.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE.....	iii
I. FACING THE SEA.....	1
Demography.....	1
Morbidity.....	6
East Coast Eskimo prehistory.....	6
Local history.....	7
Milieu.....	11
II. THE SOCIAL NETWORK.....	14
Dress, a basis of social distinctiveness.....	14
Interpersonal relations between Eskimos and Indians.....	17
Diffusion.....	21
The Euro-Canadian component.....	21
III. ESKIMO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.....	27
Tenor of life and values.....	32
Leadership and prestige.....	36
Life in winter and spring camps.....	37
Household and family.....	44
Kindred and kinship.....	48
IV. NOTES ON INDIAN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.....	52
Leadership.....	60
Family and sex roles.....	61
Kinship terminology.....	62
V. RECREATION.....	64
Eskimo recreation.....	64
Eskimo-Indian dances.....	65
Other Indian recreation.....	66
VI. RELIGION.....	68
Eskimo observances and beliefs.....	68
The Belcher Island murders.....	69
Indian observances and beliefs.....	71
VII. CONCEPTUALIZATION OF NATURE.....	74
Eskimo concepts.....	74
Indian concepts.....	77
Behavioural reactions.....	79
APPENDIX: Great Whale River Eskimo personality as revealed by Rorschach protocols. By Frances N. Ferguson.....	80
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	100

Illustrations

	PAGE
PLATE I A. Eskimo girls.....	102
B. Eskimo men and boys watching activity in the river.....	102
II A. One member of the anthropological party with Eskimo children....	103
B. Eskimo young women, dressed for a berry-picking expedition.....	103
III A. Pond behind Great Whale River post where the land begins to rise.	104
B. View of Great Whale River from the river, 1950.....	104
IV A. Part of the Eskimo encampment at Great Whale River looking toward Hudson Bay.....	105
B. Eskimo sled storage-rack on four-pole cache.....	105
V A. Eskimo preparing to leave spring camp for return to Great Whale River post.....	106
B. Three tents belonging to Great Whale River Indians.....	106
VI A. Eskimo girl.....	107
B. Rhoda Cookie with her distinctive tonsure gathering brush for fuel	107
VII A. Indian girl.....	108
B. Indian girl.....	108
VIII A. Indian youth.....	109
B. Indian youth	109
IX Indian couple.....	110
FIGURE 1. The area of the Great Whale River Eskimo and Indian	2
2. Sketch map of Great Whale River Eskimo tents and Hudson's Bay Company buildings in 1949	27

I. FACING THE SEA

DEMOGRAPHY

When I lived at Great Whale River in the summer of 1949 and again in 1950, it was a triethnic community, including Eskimos, Indians, and a handful of Euro-Canadians.

The Eskimo of Great Whale River call themselves simply Great (or Big) River People, *kutramiut*. They belong to that series of Inuit which is distributed from Cape Wolstenholme, at the western entrance to Hudson Strait, south to Old Factory on James Bay. Hawkes (1916, Map) calls the coastal Hudson Bay Eskimo collectively *Itivimiut*¹ but does not include the Belcher Island People, *Kikamiut* (or *Kigiktagmiut*), under that name. Nor shall I normally include them when I talk about the Eskimo of the Great Whale River. Some of the Great Whale River people who served as informants originally came from the Belchers. The southern edge of the Islands is only 70 miles from the mouth of Great Whale River, and under favourable conditions, for example in the spring when the ice is good, the journey takes only two days. With rough ice and short days, however, the same trip takes twice as long. South of Great Whale River, Eskimo establish winter camps as far as Cape Jones and sometimes visit the trading post at Fort George. Old Factory, 230 miles below Great Whale River, is the trading centre of a small community of Great Whale River Eskimo, survivors of a larger group brought there by Hudson's Bay Company around 1914.² The Eskimo in Great Whale River claim that little game can be found in the coastal country south of their post and that the southern land is also poor in fur resources.

"White Whale People," *wapamakastakwiiyiyiw*, the Indians of Great Whale River call themselves. North of Great Whale River, Indians extend only 80 miles to Richmond Gulf where the treeline bends inland sharply. South, of course, Indians live along the east coasts of Hudson Bay and James Bay as far as Rupert House. A rather conspicuous difference separates the language spoken at Attawapiskat, on the west coast of James Bay, from that spoken at Great Whale River. Michelson (1939) classifies the latter as a *y*-dialect of Montagnais-Naskapi, a language which he distinguishes from Cree.³

¹ This is the name by which the Ungava Eskimo designate the east coast people, according to Turner (1894).

² The Old Factory community in 1950 was said to consist of Old Witalitoq, his wife, Mina Kitsuk (d. of Old Nuktaj and Sivono), together with their three sons and one daughter. Another daughter, married to Richard Fleming, lived at Great Whale River.

³ The Great Whale River Indians do not know to whom or to what "Naskapi" refers, though they have heard the word. Also they cannot understand the dialect spoken by far inland Indians, for example those trading at Fort Chimo. Twomey and Herrick (1942: 160) quote a Hudson's Bay Company trader saying that the Great Whale River and Richmond Gulf Indians "were not Ungava tribe Indians, but belong instead to the northernmost tribes of the Swampy Crees."

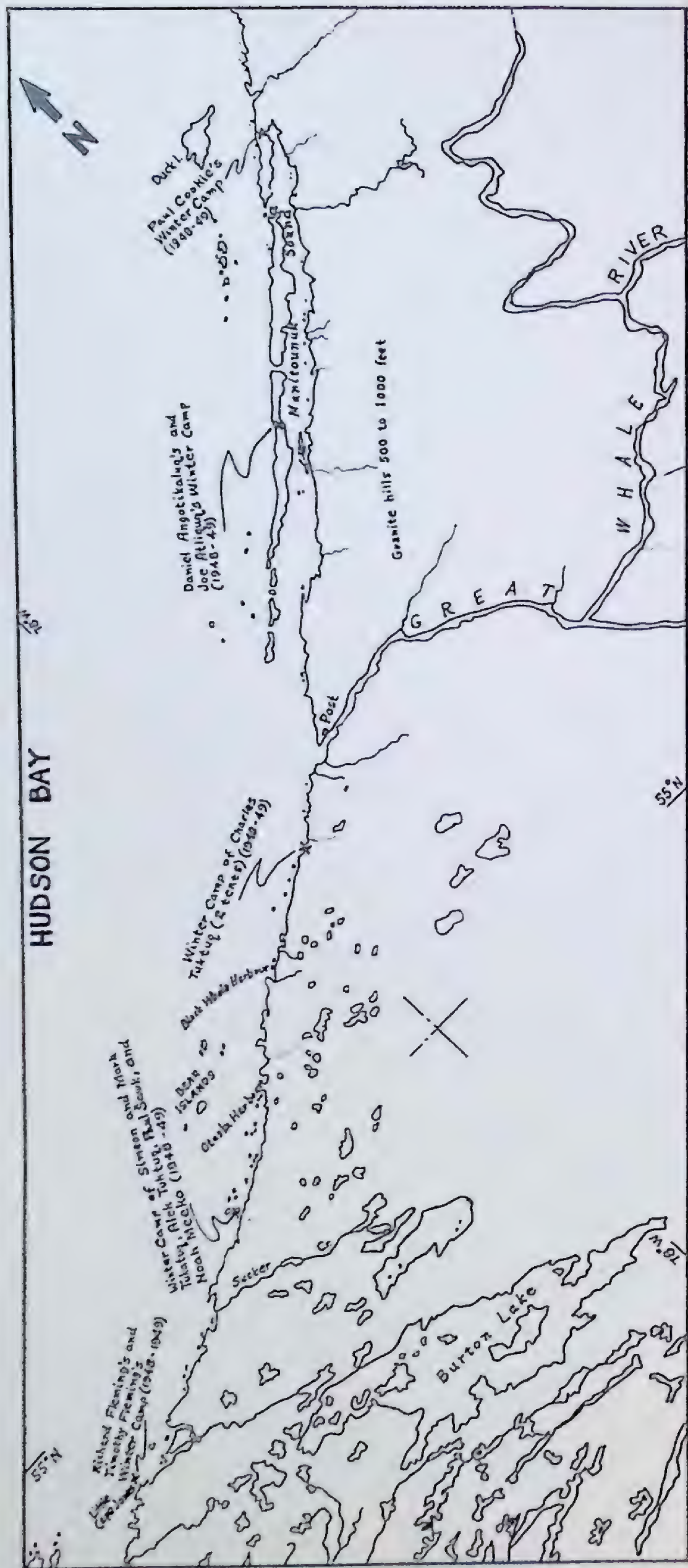


FIGURE 1. The area of the Great Whale River Eskimo and Indian.

Below are some place and band names given by Eskimo and Indian informants (the phonetic transcriptions are far from precise):

<i>Eskimo</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Indian</i>
tasiyu'ra; ta'sira	Richmond Gulf	yatowi'nipak
ta'siramiut	Richmond Gulf Eskimo	
	Richmond Gulf Indians	yatiiwinipakwiiyiyiw
kutra'luq	Great Whale River	wapama'kastasii'pii
kutra'miut	Great Whale River Eskimo	
	Great Whale River Indians	wapamakastakwiiyiyiw; or šapwinammiyuiniyiw; or yatawinipawiyuyuite ¹
	Fort George	tšiiša'sii'pii
	Indians wintering S.E. of Great Whale River on the coast	pitspa'piiš
	Inland Indians	miskodiiš
majlutšiq'kut ²	Fort George	
	Fort George Indians	tšiišasiipiiwiiyiyiw; or tšasiipiwiyuyuite
tikirawaq	Cape Jones	
kajkiktajq	Belcher Islands	
kajkiktamiut	Belcher Island Eskimo	
pu'tuptu'miut	Nastapoka	
inuktra'miut	Harrison Eskimo	

The presence of Euro-Canadians in the community will be accounted for when we review the history and social organization of Great Whale River.

Physical differences distinguish each of the three ethnic groups from one another. We will ignore features of the Euro-Canadians and talk briefly about the two native groups. The Eskimos compared to the Indians are a short people, and the exposed portions of their skin are darker. However, normally concealed parts of the body surface may be quite light (as light as some Caucasoid skin), and a newborn baby is light all over. The features of the Indian are sharper and lack the pronounced epicanthic fold of the Eskimo. In body build the Eskimo are chunky. The men's shoulders are definitely broader than the shoulders of the Indian men. The latter seem drawn together at the shoulders, which are thin and sloping. Both sexes among the Indians walk with slightly bent knees and a shuffling step, which may have been acquired through packing heavy loads on the back.

Birth and death records in 1949 and 1950 were maintained by the resident Protestant missionary. He also collected vital statistics from an Eskimo who operated the trading post on the Belcher Islands and sent them along to Government authorities at Moose Factory. Table I provides

¹ A term referring to people of Hudson Bay; it embraces both the Richmond Gulf and the Great Whale River people.

² The word is said to refer to a man, Miles, who lived at this place.

a breakdown of population by age intervals and covers all the Eskimos and Indians officially recognized as belonging to Great Whale River as well as the Belcher Island Eskimo. The missionary had reason to feel that some children below the age of five remain unreported in the tabulation. Nearly all ages were calculated by figuring from the date of birth, information which is part of the original census data. But since these data in many cases are merely estimated, particularly for adults, no great accuracy can be assumed for such information. For a complete list of people actually resident in Great Whale River, see pp. 27-32.

TABLE I
Great Whale River and Belcher Island Populations

Age Interval	Great Whale Eskimo*		Belcher Island Eskimo**		Great Whale Indian†	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
81-85.....	—	1	—	—	—	—
76-80.....	—	1	—	1	—	—
71-75.....	—	—	—	—	—	—
66-70.....	1	2	1	—	1	3
61-65.....	1	1	1	—	—	1
56-60.....	—	—	1	1	1	3
51-55.....	1	4	1	2	4	2
46-50.....	4	5	4	8	5	5
41-45.....	3	3	3	2	4	5
36-40.....	4	5	3	7	3	3
31-35.....	9	6	6	6	10	3
26-30.....	12	11	2	4	8	4
21-25.....	6	8	9	10	8	12
16-20.....	12	12	9	10	8	10
11-15.....	10	16	15	7	13	7
6-10.....	13	12	7	14	8	14
- 5.....	18	12	9	9	10	16
TOTALS.....	94	99	71	81	83	88
COMBINED TOTALS.....193			152		171	

* To June 27, 1949; Richmond Gulf Eskimo included.

** To July 16, 1949.

† To August 10, 1949; Richmond Gulf Indians included.

According to the figures in Table I, one Great Whale River Eskimo male hunter 17 years old or over supports 3.8 persons including himself, while one Indian hunter in that age category supports 3.4 persons including himself. On the Belcher Islands the ratio is about 1 to 4, and here people depend a bit less on food imported and sold in the store than do people on the mainland. The size of the Belcher Island native population does not

appear to have changed much since 1910 when Flaherty (1924: 23) estimated it at about 150 persons. He believed that population density in the Belchers was greater than on the mainland, a conclusion with which we are inclined to agree. In order to calculate the land area of the Belchers, a rectangle was drawn on a map around the islands and the enclosed total area halved, on the assumption that it contained equal parts of land and water. This gave 180 square miles of land surface, which works out to a density of between .8 and .9 per square mile. On the mainland, by reserving a strip 2 miles wide and 224 miles long for Eskimo occupancy, we obtain a density of only about .4 per square mile or a shoreline density (excluding islands) of between .8 and .9 per square mile. Kroeber (1939) calculated about one Eskimo per square mile for the eastern Arctic in pre-contact times. The density of the Great Whale River and Richmond Gulf Indians, allocating them 22,000 square miles of exploited territory, is a small fraction of Eskimo densities and amounts to about .01 per square mile.

From 1949 to 1950 the Eskimo population increased by three owing to excess of births (10) over deaths (7). One of those deaths was a stillbirth, and two were deaths of children under one year of age. The Indian population grew by two persons, there being ten births and eight deaths, one a child of 16 months.

Among both Indians and mainland Eskimos, deaths exceeded births in the period from 1944 to 1948, as Table II shows. In about 1946, improved medical services became available for Great Whale River and other James Bay posts, and from that time on health conditions have improved considerably.¹

TABLE II
Eskimo and Indian Births and Deaths 1944-48

Year	ESKIMO			INDIAN		
	Births	Deaths	Deaths of children under one year*	Births	Deaths	Deaths of children under one year*
1944.....	13	5	4	6	6	3
1945.....	4	28	1	9	11	3
1946.....	7	10	2	4	18	2
1947.....	11	11	3	9	10	1
1948.....	8	5	—	4	4	3
TOTALS.....	43	59	10	32	49	12

* In 1943 there were twelve Eskimo births, and three children died before they had reached one year of age. There were ten Indian births that year and four infant deaths.

¹ A picture story describes health services available in 1946-47. See "50° Below Zero in this Doctor's Office! Canadian Arctic physician doesn't think twice about 1,700-mile trip by 'plane, dog team, snowmobile to see patients," 1947.

MORBIDITY

Apart from the Government physician, who in 1949 said that he perceived no signs of malnutrition, my assessment of morbidity is based on impressions and reliance on what the people themselves reported to me. In 1949 I asked Eskimos and Indians if any members of their families had been ill during the previous winter. A number of people spoke of "flu" and "chest trouble" occurring during the previous May. Some adults were incapacitated for almost a month, others for a shorter time. Several Indians reported having spat blood during the winter and also complained of chest pains, stomach aches, and fever. The wife of the Hudson's Bay Company's manager said that Indians coming into the post after a winter in the bush often complain of stomach trouble and constipation. In her opinion these ailments are due to a sudden shift from a diet heavy in meat to one comprised almost entirely of flour.

Summer colds were noticeable among children. Two Euro-Canadians predicted that the concentration of people in the post after the winter's isolation would be followed by an outbreak of colds. I heard of only one Eskimo woman who remained in Moose Factory Anglican hospital with tuberculosis. The illness had been diagnosed when she had gone there in connection with the Belcher Island murders (*see pp. 69-71*). One woman at Great Whale River was crippled, her condition suggesting cerebral palsy. Although her brother was a relatively prosperous man, her clothing was ragged. One child, about three years old, was definitely abnormal. She had hardly grown beyond the proportions of an infant and was completely helpless. The mother treated the little girl with endless patience, carried it with her constantly, and manifested much evidence of love and absorption; for example, singing her to sleep and rocking her. Another possible congenital abnormality was the speech defect of Elizabeth Cookie, daughter of Paul. In place of "atšuuili" she would say "athuuli," with a voiceless interdental spirant.

EAST COAST ESKIMO PREHISTORY

The original Eskimo settlers on the East Coast of Hudson Bay and in the Belcher Islands brought a mixture of Dorset and Thule traits, an assemblage on which Quimby (1940-41) bestows the name "Manitunik culture." The people dwelt in oval tents about twelve feet in diameter or in rectangular tents measuring 20 by 10 feet. Fire-places are found in the rectangular shelters only. Manitunik culture did not include the semi-subterranean house characteristic of Thule culture in other areas. The hunters sheltered their dead under cairns of rocks, boulders, and beach gravel. Grave goods accompanied the deceased. Bone and ivory open- and closed-socket harpoon heads were fitted with iron, bone, or slate blades, the latter drilled for rivets. A harpooner's additional gear included a long ivory ice-pick, ivory finger-rests, bone and ivory line swivels, bone and ivory bladder inflators and stoppers, as well as bone and ivory harpoon rests. The hunter went out with a lance equipped with ground slate blades and arrows tipped with bone and slate blades. He dispatched arrows with a sinew-backed bow, made with the aid of a bone sinew twister and ivory marlin spike. Spears were thrown with the aid of spear-throwers. Bone and slate prongs were fitted to leisters, and salmon spears and bone prongs

to bird darts. Composite slate and bone fish hooks were made in several varieties, and for bird-catching, the bola, weighted with ivory pendants, was utilized by hunters.

The snow knife had bilateral knobs at the ends of the handle. Chipped slate ulus seem to have been made exceptionally large, though smaller ones also had a function. Men used long, tanged slate knives that sometimes were double edged. Gravers may have been used in order to apply ornamentation to ivory and wood. For woodworking, men employed the adze and also a nephrite drill, operated by means of a caribou-bone mouth socket. The house was furnished with soapstone lamps. Women used ivory needle cases. Bone and ivory harness toggles as well as buckles of tooth and ivory provide evidence for the prehistoric use of dog traction.

Quimby describes Manitunik art as an original fusion of old design elements. Eskimos also probably took over some of their design elements from Indian art. The people decorated utilitarian objects, as well as purely ornamental artifacts, by carving, drilling, and engraving. Ornamental gear included beads, walrus-tooth drop pendants, buttons, and discs.

Manitunik culture is not old. In the first place, Thule culture is a relatively recent arrival in the eastern Arctic. Still more time was required until it mixed with Dorset. The hybrid product then moved southward on the east coast of Hudson Bay starting between A.D. 1000 and A.D. 1400. Here, still other traits were added; for example, the use of iron, which was acquired from European sources.

LOCAL HISTORY¹

Even before the arrival of a Hudson's Bay Company establishment, the Indians in summer had been drawn coastward to the mouths of Great and Little Whale rivers by the opportunity to kill white whales.⁸ The installation of trading facilities, however, did more to encourage the concentration of Eskimo, first at the entrance to Little Whale River and later 65 miles farther south near the mouth of Great Whale River.

On May 16, 1749, the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company in London issued the following orders to Messrs. Richard Beech, Humphry, and Richard Parry: "You are to go on board the *Mary* Capt. Wm. Coats for the East Main Coast in HB and when you arrive at the place designed for a new Settlement you are to follow such directions as shall be given you by the said Capt. Coats and Mr. Thos. Mitchell Master

¹ Harold Udgarten, a 74-year-old pensioned Hudson's Bay Company employee, drew on his memory for historical details about the early period of Great Whale River as he recalled it. He was a man of Norwegian extraction who was born at Moose Factory where he learned "to talk Indian like an Indian." When he was 15 years old, he began to work for the Company and went to Great Whale River where he picked up Eskimo speech. He complained that he could never make the sounds as an Eskimo made them. Harold's father married a daughter of Joseph Turner, who may have been a white man or a métis but had married a Cree Indian woman. Joseph Turner himself had four children, two daughters and two sons, John and Philip. Philip Turner, a shipwright, was post manager at Great Whale River for a time. Philip Turner had a son, Robert, who had a son, Frank, who had a son, Bill Turner, who still lives in Moose Factory and is very well known there. Returning to the elder Udgarten, who may have come to Canada from Norway, he had only one child with his Turner bride, and that was Harold. Harold married an Eskimo woman, sister of Nero Fleming, catechist, and Bill Fleming. She survived him when Harold died on April 3, 1950, but never bore any children (cf., Leith and Leith, 1912: 145-148, 159).

² For historical data up to 1759 I used the following extracts from Hudson's Bay Company Archives: A.6/7, fo. 165d-166; A.6/8, fo. 9d-10, 24d-25, and 51-51d; A.6/9, fo. 105; A.11/2, fo. 141; A.11/57; B. 182/a/6; B. 182/a/9; B. 182/a/10; and B. 182/a/11. These extracts were provided through the courtesy of the Canadian Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, Winnipeg. See also *Copy Book of Letters Outward* (1948: 181, 183) which records an interest in the mineral deposits of southeast Hudson Bay (Cape Jones) that goes back to 1686.

of the *Success* sloop and procure what Minerals you can come at and put them on board Capt. Coats for him to bring to England & not to Stay to Smelt them after which you are to go on board the *Success* sloop who is to Sail to Albany." Earlier correspondence indicates that London officials had been advised of mineral ores in the area near Cape Jones, the point where James Bay begins. The settlement, according to the orders, was to be made at about latitude 59° , wherever there was a good harbour, a fresh-water river, and firewood. Following delivery of the minerals to Albany for transshipment to England, Mitchell with a load of provisions, including butter and "a Cask of Strong Beer," was to return to the "appointed place" and develop a new settlement. On August 3, 1749, Beech and the others mentioned in the orders arrived at the locality where they were to mine and found "good" ore (apparently copper). The next year's letter of the Governor and Committee refers to the mine being at Little Whale River. The miners were then ordered also to prospect at Richmond Gulf. The letter speaks of a "Richmond Fort." It thus seems that the original settlement had been established in southern Richmond Gulf; only the mine was at Little Whale River. Richmond Gulf lies on about latitude 56° . Early hopes were not fulfilled. Mining continued at Little Whale River without the spectacular success that had at first been promised. By 1753 whaling with nets (and, possibly, oil rendering) had been added to the enterprises conducted there. The settlement included at least one house, and a resident carpenter was engaged in felling and squaring timbers for further construction. In the winter of 1754 an Eskimo "troubled" the place. Soon thereafter a party of "near Fifty Eusquemaux with their dogs and great Sledges" showed up. Following expressions of friendship ("Calling out Chimo all the time") they were entertained with gifts, food, and drink. In his letter of November 4, 1754, Mr. Henry Pollexfen says: "I endeavour'd as well as I could to make them understand by signs that there was another great house Just by where they might Trade such things as they had, which was boots, hairy deer skin Cotes and such like." Little Whale River itself was without trade goods to use for bargaining. With two Eskimo, Pollexfen travelled to Richmond Fort, leaving the carpenter and his "mate" to care for the house. At Richmond Gulf he discovered that the factor, Mr. John Potts, had just "that day Dispatched some People to me with some Trading Goods." Potts warned Pollexfen not to leave the house unoccupied when his men went hunting or woodcutting. Pollexfen, however, felt "no Apprehension of Danger." On February 8, 1754, when only a boy had been left at home, the house was plundered by Eskimos and the boy kidnapped. Not a pot was left to drink out of, not a knife to cut with, nor a kettle for cooking. The white men immediately left for Richmond Gulf. During their absence Eskimos again broke into the house. They threw out pork and "Pease," cut up the beds, and did "all the Damage . . . Possible (except Burning it)." The body of the boy, Matthew Warden, was found by Indians in the spring of 1754.¹ A report of these events apparently did not greatly

¹ This incident is retold in many forms by Euro-Canadians who have visited in the area. Twomey and Herrick (1942: 197), for example, speak of two unscrupulous free traders raping Eskimo women while the men were away. The angry husbands killed the white men, whereupon the post manager feared a general uprising of the Inuit. He rounded up a band of Indians and advanced on the Eskimo settlement "to guarantee himself a peaceful hearing," but the Eskimo men fled, leaving the women and children to be massacred by Indians. Harold Udgarten spoke of a massacre of several white employees at Little Whale River. Subsequently, the white post manager used Indian assistance against the predatory Eskimo. Udgarten had heard of three Eskimo raids on that post, in one of which the raiders came from as far off as Wolstenholme. I think these tales embroider the historical events just related.

distress the Company's Governor and Committee, for on May 12, 1756, acknowledging receipt of the news, they "Agreed to Permit Richmond Fort to be taken down and Rebuilt at Whale River," according to John Potts' desire. They expected trade in oil and skins to increase, especially the latter, "as the Nashcopee Indians have promised to come to trade." Indians also requested the shift of premises.

From Little Whale, trips were taken to Great Whale River. A July 24, 1756 entry in the Richmond Fort Journal kept by Pollexfen reports "three large Tents of Indians there who had been some time killing Whale, and that good for nothing rascal Sewwescom at their head: and after much Difficulty have persuaded them to go with me to little Whale River for weh. place I design to set out to morrow Mornng. I have Traded to the amount of 35 Beavers which. is every thing they have amongst them all." In August of that year a new factory site was chosen "near the place where Whale River House now Stands." Potts' letter of August 20, 1757, gives further details of rebuilding. He "found it necessary to Build it [the factory] in form of Moose (Factory) Fort the Square house Excepted weh. is to be placed. in the Middle of the Yard or Square Three sides of weh. will be pallasadoes." Trade in marten fared better in 1757 than during the previous year, but "as to Beaver we Traded by few."

London felt poorly rewarded by the small returns which the post produced. In a letter of May 17, 1759, the Governor and Committee informed John Potts and his Council "that another dissatisfaction is Added to those we have continually met with from that Factory, ever since its first Settlement in 1749, not only in Furrs but Oil also, Past Experience fully proves, that no Trade of any sort can possibly be Obtained in that part of Hudsons Bay, the least Beneficial to the Company, or Advantageous to the Nation . . . we have determined to withdraw out Servants and Effects from thence this year." In his journal John Potts on August 18, 1759, noted that they "began to pack up our Stores, trading Goods and Other things in Obediance to your Honours Commands." After loading the boat they set fire to whatever property remained and set sail on August 26.

From this point on, our hitherto excellent documentary sources regrettably dry up. I quote from a letter dated 22nd June, 1960, written by Miss S. A. Hewitson, Librarian of the Hudson's Bay Company in Winnipeg:

Regarding the 19th century: In 1813 a post was established at Great Whale River on the abandonment of Big River (Fort George). In 1816 Great Whale was abandoned in favour of Big River, but during the next few years visits were paid by the sloop to Great Whale River for whale fishing.

In 1836 a small post was re-established at Great Whale but was soon abandoned.

From 1852-55 there was once more a post at Great Whale River and from 1855 at Little Whale River. Since 1857 the post at Great Whale River appears to have been continuously in operation.

We have no record here of when Little Whale River post was closed. It is on an 1885 list, and is listed on a map of posts, *circa* 1901. It is not listed on a 1914 map.

Harold Udgarten describes the establishment maintained at Great Whale River for whaling and for rendering whale blubber: A large net was set downriver from the post off a point. Whales entering the river at night were trapped. A watchman fired a signal upon which help came to capture the prey. In 1949 the huge kettles in which the blubber was

rendered were rusting along the river bank. Large iron storage vats could also still be seen. Ships fetched the fat in hogsheads of imported oak made on the spot by coopers during winter time. Eskimos and Indians provided summer labour, some Indians even coming from Fort George. More whale meat was available than could be eaten, and dogs grew fat. Then when petroleum came into use, the whale-oil industry petered out. Trade in fox skins apparently remained brisk and doubtlessly profitable. In 1876-77 factor John Clark bought over 9,000 fox skins from November to April (Leith and Leith, 1912: 144).

The oldest grave marker I found in the Great Whale River cemetery is dated 1896. It stands in memory of Laura Cecile Gillies, perhaps the wife of the veteran Company trader. One marker, dated 1902, is especially interesting. It remembers David Loutit, a post manager, who was born in Fort George in 1849. Employees of the Hudson's Bay Company were being born in the North and were dying there, perhaps without seeing much of the outside world.

The year 1902 is memorable for another reason. In October, according to post records, a measles epidemic struck both Eskimos and Indians. This was late in the year for the Indians still to be in the post; so perhaps an earlier illness had prevented the departure of many families. Apparently the post manager's daughter died from the disease along with several other victims (Leith and Leith, 1912: 131-136). The Great Whale River store served both the mainland and the Belcher Islands until 1933 when an outpost was located in the Belchers. A rival trading organization, Révillon Frères, joined the community early in the present century. The Hudson's Bay manager in 1949 occupied the residence which the "French Company" had built prior to its departure in the middle thirties. In 1949 and 1950 a white independent trader operated a store at Richmond Gulf and also maintained a warehouse at Great Whale River.

In August, 1879, the Company schooner, "Mink," brought materials from Moose Factory for a church, which was built at Little Whale River. According to oral tradition, this building replaced an earlier sealskin structure that had been "eaten" by Eskimo dogs. The first Anglican service was conducted for an Eskimo-Euro-Canadian congregation in October by Mr. E. Richards. Later the church was moved to Great Whale River, material being transported on sleds. Edmund J. Peck, author of an *Eskimo Grammar* (1943) and compiler of *Eskimo-English Dictionary* (1925) served the people of Great Whale as their religious leader. Harold Udgarten describes his attitude as tolerant. Peck, it is said, saw no harm in dancing but objected to what happened after the dance or among the groups standing outside the dance place. A later missionary, Griffin, was of sterner stuff and called the dance fiddler a "devil." Peck probably introduced the syllabary which James Evans, a Methodist minister in the North, had invented some time around 1845. From 1892 or 1894 to 1924, the missionary who visited Great Whale River from Fort George was W. G. Walton, a student of both the Eskimo and Indian languages. Eskimos from as far off as Harrison and the Belcher Islands heard his teaching during their winter visits to the post. From 1924 to 1940 missionary activity was very slight, but in the latter year the first permanent missionary came to live at Great Whale River. He remained until 1950.

In 1941, a census year, each Eskimo for the first time received a metal tag bearing the number by which he was listed on the census rolls. Intensified contact with the outside world dating from around this time did not at once stem the ravages of serious illness. An epidemic in early 1945, believed to be mumps, was followed by "complications" that took the lives of about twenty-four Eskimo. The Government physician at Moose Factory, T. J. Orford, visited the post. The next year in August, summer flu took thirteen Indian lives, according to statements recorded in the deaths-register and, according to a local informant, six or seven Eskimo. A few Indians were beginning to trickle to Fort George to study in the Roman Catholic or Anglican mission schools, but they did not remain long. An insignificant number of Eskimo have been educated away from the post. Nevertheless, thanks to classes conducted locally by the missionary and to private family instruction, practically every Eskimo adult is literate in his own language. The Indians, too, are nearly all able to read and write their language in the traditional orthography of the Northland.

This is not the place to tell what happened to Great Whale River a few years after my last field trip in 1950. Even while we were there, we saw the tundra being staked for the construction of airplane runways. In 1955 the place became a major military installation designed to help defend North America from airborne aggression coming across the Polar region. An anonymous account in *The Arctic News* ("A Visit to Great Whale River," 1956) indicates some of the drastic changes that were brought about. An anthropologist at the National Museum of Canada, Asen Balikci, has made a more systematic study of this new period of Great Whale River Eskimo culture.

MILIEU¹

The Great Whale River people, Eskimo and Indian, live near the borderline of two vegetation zones: the tundra, with its lichens and flowering plants, and the boreal forest (Hustich, 1949). The treeline crosses Ungava about one hundred miles north of the post, but along the Hudson Bay coast it dips southward leaving a narrow tonguelike strip of barrens that includes the Belcher Islands. (Wood for the Company's store in the Islands is cut on the mainland and carried in the annual supply ship, the "Fort Charles.") From the gently sloping beach fronting the Bay, the land at Great Whale rises to low hills interspersed with ponds that lie behind the settlement. Beyond those hills is the spruce forest, which is home to the Indian and the source of his livelihood (see Plates III A and IV A).

The mean annual temperature at the river mouth is about 23°F. The annual snowfall amounts to about one hundred inches; most of it falls in the early part of the winter (Hare, 1951). The 290-mile-long river freezes quite late near the post, around December, and opens again in late May. For most of the winter the channel between the Belchers and the mainland is frozen by what Twomey and Herrick (1942: 6) refer to as an "ice jam." When the wind is northerly, summer fogs are a feature of the area. In the spring, if there are no snowdrifts to point direction, even Eskimos can become lost should they suddenly be enveloped in a heavy fog on clear ice. In summer, after several warm days, we sometimes felt

¹ See also Quebec, 1929, and Rousseau, 1954.

the wind change abruptly and veer to the north. A high wall of fog would advance swiftly and dramatically across the open sea toward land.

Some fauna available to the Eskimo are given with Eskimo names (an asterisk indicates that the people use the animal for food):

*Loon	tuu'lii
*Gull	naw'ra
*Common Tern	taktakii'ea
*Canada Goose	nikii
*Snow Goose	ka'ngu
*Ducks	iivu'va (generic term)
*Merganser	akpangii'yu
Whiskeyjack	opanora'lu
*Great Horned Owl	siioti'lii
*Snipe	tšii'area
*Sandpiper	tšii'area
*Yellowlegs	tuii'tuii'
*Sharp-skinned Hawk	kiia'vii

In addition, there are rabbit, fox, squirrel, an occasional white bear, weasel, ptarmigan, and, of course, marine animals, including various kinds of seal (see p. 75), walrus, and white whale.

Indians are familiar with the beaver, rabbit, fox, mink, muskrat, otter, black bear (not very common), porcupine, and weasel. Occasionally a lynx is caught. In addition, they shoot geese, ducks, ptarmigan, grouse, spruce hens, hawks, and owls (cf., Quebec, 1929: 114-131). Marten, which were once available and prized for their skins, have disappeared. Harold Udgarten blames this on overtrapping. Eskimos and Indians manage to catch a fair number of whitefish, as well as some ling, trout, and arctic char. Eskimo eat considerable numbers of sculpins.

The following list of plants are common around Great Whale River post, and Dr. D. B. O. Savile, Division of Botany and Plant Pathology, Central Experimental Farm, Ottawa, helped identify them. An asterisk indicates that the plant or berry is used for food by the Eskimo.

<i>Common Name</i>	<i>Eskimo Name</i>	<i>Botanical Name</i>
*Crowberry	paw'nga	<i>Empetrum nigrum</i>
*Dwarf blueberry	kigotinine'	<i>Vaccinium Vitis-Idaea</i>
White cinquefoil	oxaw'ra (?)	<i>Potentilla tridentata</i>
Reindeer lichen	tingawree'	<i>Cladonia rangiferina</i>
Dwarf birch	avalaxea	<i>Betula glandulosa</i>
Dwarf juniper	kiiyutinginaw'ra	<i>Juniperus communis</i> (? var. <i>depressa</i>)
Sphagnum moss	u?u	
White spruce	xii'yu	<i>Picea glauca</i>
Black spruce	xi'saqtii'o'tii (?)	

*Lousewort (root eaten)	?	<i>Pedicularis labradorica</i>
*Labrador tea (narrow leaf)	tii'tlu'	<i>Ledum palustre</i> (var. <i>decumbens</i>)
Labrador tea (broad leaf)	tii'tlua'lu	<i>Ledum groenlandicum</i>
*Bearberry	ka'tlu	<i>Arctostaphylos alpinum</i>
*Blueberry	?	<i>Vaccinium uliginosum</i>
*Cloudberry (or baked-apple berry)	ak'pii'	<i>Rubus chamaemorus</i>
*Arctic cranberry	kimina'	<i>Vaccinium oxycoccos</i>
Willow	ok'pii'	<i>Salix</i>
Alder	?	<i>Alnus incana</i>
*Skunk currant	mak?wa'lii	<i>Ribes glandulosum</i>
Larch	pi'nga	<i>Larix laricina</i>

Some of the Eskimo terms in the foregoing list are probably descriptions of what the informant, Charlie Tukulug, saw, rather than common names. Others may be general, like iviiyaj, a term Charlie applied to the large grass binding the sand dune (*Elymus arenarius*). Iviiyaj is the common word for any kind of grass.

II. THE SOCIAL NETWORK¹

Socially speaking, this small triethnic community, in which not many more than two hundred persons ever reside simultaneously (census figures, remember, are higher than actual resident population), maintains a balance between centripetal and centrifugal tendencies. Each of the three ethnic groups—Indian, Eskimo, and Euro-Canadian or White—tends, through social relationships and sentiments primarily focused within, to cut itself off from the other two. On the other hand, each category of people is to some degree involved with the others, primarily through peaceful contacts rather than hostile conflict. Exceptions to these generalizations exist. For example, intercourse between Eskimo and Indian boys is more likely to be aggressive than peaceful. The Euro-Canadians are also more intensely involved with each of the native ethnic groups than either of these is with the other. It is interesting and not without theoretical significance that the strongest ethnic antagonism, deprecation of native customs, and evidence of general frustration with regard to community role show up in Euro-Canadians. Congruently, the largest amount of antagonistic collaboration offered by adults in the other two ethnic groups appears in their relations with whites. But my previous generalization still stands: the social network is maintained primarily through peaceful contacts rather than hostile opposition. The most intense opposition that occurs is harmlessly channelled into games between Eskimos and Indians and probably contributes much to promote understanding between the members of these two categories.

DRESS, A BASIS OF SOCIAL DISTINCTIVENESS

A number of cultural factors help to maintain the distinction felt to exist between Indians and Eskimos by members of each ethnic group, including dress patterns. The Eskimo, especially younger women, tend to be vain about their clothing as well as their personal appearance. This observation we have offered previously, and it is also made for Alaska by the Helmericks (1948: 69; *see also* Leith and Leith, 1912: 72). Unmarried girls near puberty love to change clothes from one day to another. Their apparel is particularly distinguished for cleanliness, a girl of this age washing her own things. Both men and women dress a little differently for Sunday than for ordinary occasions; girls between 15 and 19, for instance, put on shoes or rubber boots in place of the customary sealskin boots, and the men don suit coats. The basic summer costume of the Eskimo reflects to some extent the limited stock available at the store: red or blue sweater, red beret, print plaid skirt, black ribbed stockings, and homemade boots with fur uppers—the standard garb for women. Much of the time women wear, over their dresses, aprons that they have made themselves, even to dances, but not to church. Once we saw an apron lying on a pew in the church. We suspect it had been slipped off by a woman when she embarrassedly discovered she was not properly attired for service. In hot weather,

¹The present tense will be used most of the time to designate events that belong to the ethnographic present—1949 and 1950.

women carry towels in their hands and use them to wipe away perspiration. From the mission, women buy long cloth coats, but these they use only in the post. For travel, even in summer, girls and women wear decorated canvas amawtiqs, hooded parkas, fitted in the back with sewn pockets, into which a baby's feet can be set even when it is wearing boots (Twomey and Herrick, 1942: 303). The child is not naked when carried on the mother's back in summer but wears flannel pants stuffed with flannel padding. A sash is always worn around the waist with an amawtiq. In winter, men and women wear parkas of more substantial thickness. Sometimes they are made of canvas and lined with duck skins, or they may be made entirely of duck skins (about twenty skins to a parka) or sealskin. Feathers or hair are on the outside. Sealskin trousers are also used, at least by men, two skins being required for a pair, compared to four for a man's coat and three for a woman's. In sewing sealskin garments, care is taken to make the more deeply coloured parts of two skins meet and therefore blend. A photograph taken in 1909 indicates that then sealskin garments were worn even in summer (Leith and Leith, 1912: facing p. 48). In those days Eskimo also favoured white moleskin trousers and the long, black, hooded capotes familiar from pictures of former Hudson's Bay Company voyageurs. Currently both sexes wear flannelette underwear, boys and men onepiece. Women's underdrawers rest just above the pelvis and hip bone but reach to the knees. While women do not expose underpants utterly freely, neither are they extremely modest about such exposure. Older women wear shawls, a characteristic that mature women exhibited in many parts of James Bay in the late '40's. These nicely serve for packing small children. Women make many of the clothes required for themselves and their families and also, of course, repair worn clothing. We saw one man buy a mackinaw (\$8.95, representing wages from about four days' work) into which his wife promptly sewed a zipper. The family stores its clothing in burlap sacks that are piled at the back of the sleeping area in the tent.

Sealskin boots, the Eskimo here and in the Belchers produce in surplus and sell to the Company store which exports them to other parts of the James Bay area. But the community itself needs a large number of these odorous garments, for in one winter alone (when snow reduces friction) a man wears out three pairs. The boot consists of three parts, the kana'tcuq, upper; kaḷin', tongue; and ala', footpiece. Footpiece and tongue are attached with a double seam (for waterproofing), sewn with a continuous piece of sinew. That is, when additional length is needed, the woman separates a piece from the batch of sinew at her side and splits the thicker end of the piece into three. These ends are braided for about an inch before the new piece of sinew is twisted onto the remaining length of the piece with which she had been sewing. Braiding then continues, the old being braided into the new length. In sewing tongue to footpiece one seam is sewn from the outside. The other seam is sewn in the same way but with the boot turned inside out. In this second seam the needle and sewing line pass into and out of the sealskin without perforating the outer surface of the material. The heel is gathered or pleated, and the gathered stuff sewn with white cotton thread causing a welting. The line again does not completely pierce the skin, and knots are made after each welt. Even with a thimble, it takes strong fingers to push a needle through such stout material. I learned that soft-soled boots are frequently used in winter when the sole does not wear

out readily in snow. Boots for summer travel are preferably made of the heavier skin of the square flipper seal or white whale. These skins, especially that of the white whale, are actually a disadvantage in winter, for they freeze quickly. The latter also hardens once it becomes wet, a disadvantage in summer (*see also* p. 76). Walrus hide makes a most durable boot bottom and, like ordinary sealskin, does not freeze. However, the walrus is rarely killed at Great Whale River. Skin for boot-making is cut into the desired pattern on a cutting board. The woman works with a semilunar knife and bevels the edges of the skin as she cuts. When thick skin is used, this bevelling prevents an uncomfortable thickness at the point of a seam. Women have a stock of paper patterns, cut from wrapping paper, that they use in bootmaking. Inside his winter boots a man wears slippers made of baby seal, tanned with the hair on. The hair is worn next to the foot. Occasionally wool duffel is also used. A fancy pair of sealskin boots, such as girls normally wear, shows square- or diamond-shaped patches of dark skin set into the lighter fur of the uppers. Men's uppers are usually plain sealskin without hair. Variations in sealskin boots include canvas or duck-skin uppers. Patching boots that have worn through is common. Still serviceable parts of old footwear are also combined with pieces of fresh sealskin to make new garments. Women use their teeth to crease and soften sealskin for sewing. To soften the lower parts of boots that have dried stiffly they employ a gently rounded softening stick. This is planted between a seated woman's outstretched legs, and the boot is slipped over the stick. Then she rubs the inner surface of the sole back and forth several times over the wood.

In cold weather, sealskin mittens are worn for warmth. Gloves are neither manufactured nor used.

Eskimo women generally wear their hair braided in back of their heads, the ends of the braids being tied with a ribbon or piece of cloth. Girls put up their hair at varying ages; we saw a girl of six, for example, with her hair done up as an adult. Occasionally some wear their hair in a roll starting above the ears and extending around to the back of the head. One old lady had her hair cut in a neat, straight bob, such as I have seen in photographs of eastern Arctic Eskimo. As a rule, girls under 12 also wear short hair, though not the same straight bob. Men pluck and shave facial hair, including moustache hairs. I saw one young boy with a tattooed wrist, and the same old lady who wore the straight bob also had a vertical tattoo on her chin. Once when I photographed her, she either deliberately or inadvertently tried to conceal the decoration.

Against this picture of the Eskimo appearance, let us now set the Indian, with the assumption that the people themselves are conscious of at least differences in dress and adornment and that these differences reinforce, in each group, the sense of being a relatively distinct social entity.

The old Naskapi costume for the man consisting "of a jacket of deer-skin [caribou] close all round, worn with the hair next to the skin, and an over-coat of the same material reaching to his knees, the hair outside" has disappeared. McLean (1849: 262) reports that this dress, together with "leather breeches, and leggings, or stockings of cloth" worn with a richly ornamented cap, was used around 1840. At that time women wore "a square piece of dressed deer-skin, girt round them by a cloth or worsted belt, and

fastened over their shoulders by leather straps; a jacket of leather, and cloth leggings." He also reports a woman's "garment in imitation of a gown." Both sexes painted their garments. Today, with the exception of sealskin boots and, more rarely, caribou-hide moccasins, textile clothing has taken over. Even mittens are made of canvas and lined with wool duffel or other blanketing for warmth. Not even rabbit-skin robes are made now, although rabbit skins as well as caribou hair provide boot duffel.

Brightly coloured shawls and sweaters give the Indian women a colourful appearance. Shawls are somewhat more common in this ethnic group than among Eskimo. The skirts flare and possess an extra ruffle at the bottom, above which there is an extra line or two of binding of different colours. Men's parkas show the same kind of border, just above the lower edge. Occasionally an Indian girl wears an apron, usually less sparkling clean than the Eskimo girl's, though the Indians, too, dress in clean clothes when they go to church. The men wear parkas (sing., *eko'p*), some trimmed with mink about one inch wide around the hood. These garments are made by a young man's mother, sister, or wife. For church a man usually puts on a suit coat (*otccimaw'ekop*, "boss man's" coat) and even a tie. The coat, of course, does not always match the trousers. Young Indian males wear less colour than women but have more of a flair for ornament or decoration: red or powder-blue berets, pulled far down on the head, close to the ears (one never sees these on Eskimo); a bright silk scarf or kerchief across the shoulder and under the arm or around the neck; barrettes and Hudson's Bay Company anniversary buttons worn on peaked caps, berets, or sweaters. In winter, woollen toques are pulled over the upper part of the ears, or else the ears are covered with handkerchiefs tied around the head. Both sexes wear sealskin boots, nearly always with fur uppers, the men's are bound at the top with colourful wool sashes or some brightly coloured ribbons. This decoration is uncommon among Eskimo, though it does occur. If Indians of either sex wear canvas uppers on sealskin boots, these parts will be decorated along the upper rim with binding. Indians buy their sealskin boots from the Hudson's Bay Company or directly from Eskimo manufacturers. In summer, boys and some young men cut their hair very short, only a tuft being left in front. Once in a pile of refuse I saw a mass of woman's cut hair; apparently no care is taken in disposing of this part of the body. One young man told me that he shaves once a month.¹

INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS BETWEEN ESKIMOS AND INDIANS

Each ethnic group regards the other with characteristic attitudes. One notes a sense of rivalry between men in each division. The Indian youth believes he is stronger and more industrious. He holds that the Eskimo girl dances better than the Indian girl and offers the explanation that life on the coast is easier and leaves girls less worn out than life in the bush. Ethnocentrism waxes very strong over the Eskimo's "dirty" eating habits. The Indian's attitude also tends to be patronizing. The Eskimo, because

¹ The Eskimos and Indians are also differentiated from one another in their sitting posture. At home the Eskimo usually sit with legs outstretched, straight in front. Indian men and women, on the other hand, sit—or rather kneel—with their legs tucked under them, the knees close together. In a kayak the Eskimo paddler maintains the same position; his legs are stretched out in front. Indians, on the other hand, paddle canoes while they sit back on their legs.

he inhabits a land almost devoid of commercially valuable fur resources, is definitely poorer than the Indian. The Eskimo in complementary fashion acknowledges his poverty. He is poorer moneywise, but he points out that he has more country food to eat than the Indian and with his dogs can travel more efficiently. The Indians sometimes show off their wealth; for example, when prosperous trappers like Charlie Dick and Philip Mukaš give apparently free gifts and occasionally even a feast to selected Eskimo or bring them meat. The ethnographer often is a stimulus of behaviour which can increase his understanding of a culture. The way Eskimo young men blamed Indians for cutting up in our house during our absence or for allegedly spitting into the waterpail denotes a sense of antagonism. Indian youths are equally ready to blame the Eskimo for having broken a phonograph, quite without evidence on their part.

Despite the fact that Eskimo-Indian marriages are rare, considerable self-consciousness exists when boys and girls of one division encounter age mates of the other group. The pattern calls for unmarried Indian youths to make their presence known to Eskimo girls or vice versa. Unmarried Eskimo men, however, seem scarcely to be conscious of Indian girls. There is a reason for this. Eskimo girls interact with men far more readily and without apparent confusion than Indian girls. True they giggle, but this is a mild show of shyness compared to the total disintegration of poise that would seize an Indian girl if, say, an Eskimo youth asked her to play checkers with him or seized her bodily in a ball game. Inuit girls giggle and stare after Indian boys who walk through the Eskimo encampment going to and from the store, and Indian youths clown if they know that Eskimo girls are watching. In our house much verbal teasing and kidding occurred between the two sexes. It was quite possible to believe the missionary when he predicted that an Eskimo girl would look favourably on an Indian's proposal of marriage. On the other hand, her unfamiliarity with bush tasks is a big factor that prevents her from being readily considered as a bride.

I thought it might be useful to set down all Eskimo-Indian marriages that came to my attention. All but one of these five known cases involved an Eskimo girl married to an Indian man. The exception is a part-Indian girl married to a young Eskimo, Charlie Tuqtuq, who himself spent two years at Fort George.

1. A sister of Joseph Akporak's wife married an Indian who trapped around Cape Jones (i.e., on the coast). The woman's people had been "living among" Indians for some time.
2. Old Witalitoq's first wife's daughter Sophie, a sister of Richard Fleming, married an Indian who trapped along the coast north of Fort George and south of Cape Jones. His name is Tommy Crow.
3. Isaac Fleming's sister married Ernest Herodier, the métis son of a Révillon Frères' trader.
4. Charlie Tuqtuq married a part-Indian girl.
5. Nora Tumiq, sister of Jacob Tumiq, was reared by Charlotte Tom, an Indian post servant at Fort George, and is said to have married an Indian.

Two other cases of Eskimo men who had married Indians were heard of, but in lesser detail: Eskimo Harry and George Maver, a métis (also known as Snowboy?). Both women are deceased.

Language is a potent factor not only inhibiting intermarriage between the two ethnic groups but, in a much more general way, limiting, relatively, the intensity of social interaction. Many young men in each social division possess a rudimentary speaking knowledge of the other language and also some ability to understand it. Eskimos who spent some time in Moose Factory and one man, Charlie Tuqtuq, who spent two years in the Anglican school at Fort George have had extensive contact with Montagnais-Naskapi speakers and are quite proficient in this Algonkian language. My impression is that Montagnais-Naskapi dominates over Eskimo in the sense that the Indians expect to be understood when they speak and to be answered in their own tongue, and they make only the slightest serious effort to master the other group's languages. Earlier observers of Great Whale River community relations have also made this point (Leith and Leith, 1912: 151). We have heard young adult Eskimo men trying to learn Montagnais-Naskapi under semiplayful Indian stimulation, but my notes record only young Indian boys in a comparable learning situation. I suspect that Eskimo youths often give Indians the impression of understanding when the latter talk to them; it is doubtful if they always do. They are taking a simple way out of what they empathically perceive to be a difficult situation. Women in neither group appear to be at all capable or interested in managing the other language.

Commercial relations, in which the Indians are again dominant or at least originate much activity, are very important in bringing the two ethnic groups into interaction. Casual visiting is another link that in some cases directly serves commercial interest, visits serving as opportunities to exchange goods, make payment, or simply to maintain good relations with a prospective customer. The Indians buy sealskin boots from their neighbours. A pair of Eskimo boots may be paid for by a bundle of white whale or caribou sinew, which the Indians have dried. Indians give the "Huskies" sealskin or white whale hide to clean, along with some fat and bits of meat as a payment. Indians' whale hunting equipment, notably the harpoon and float, are manufactured by the Eskimo. When these articles break, the Eskimo is asked to repair them in exchange for a bit of tobacco or similar small payment. When payment is delayed, irritation is revealed by criticism. Eskimo also sell puppies to local Indians and grown dogs to Indians from Moose Factory who work on the Company vessel. More unusual services rendered by Eskimo include construction of a fence around the grave of an affluent Indian's wife and transportation to the bush for Indians by dog-team in winter. Thus, during the winter of 1949-50 two Eskimo men came into the post from coastal camps by arrangement in order to take three Indians inland via the coast. Other men have also performed this service.

Casual visiting between Indians and Eskimos is generally practised by girls and women. It is more common to see Eskimo girls going to the Indian encampment than to see Indian women enter an Eskimo tent. Sunday afternoon is a favourite time for groups of three or four girls, ranging in age from 12 to 22, to visit *adaleet*, as the Eskimo call the Indians. On such visits, interaction between women of the two ethnic groups is confined to looking, exclaiming, and showing, for neither side is at all adept at speaking

with the other. But the women do not find a visit painful, even though conversation is lacking. Five to fifteen minutes of more or less silent presence apparently constitutes a satisfactory kind of interaction that pleases both the visitors and hosts. Men are not likely to remain in the tents at such times. Sometimes women who visit leave the house with gifts, and this may be a motive behind some of the calls that the Eskimo make at the Indian camp. However, I believe that these are rarely free gifts but represent delayed payment or a return of something previously taken. Casual contacts between men of the two groups occur in the open and in the Hudson's Bay Company's store.

Very animated interaction between Indians and Eskimos occurs occasionally in summer when the two groups, both men and women, co-operate in dragging a white whale from the river or the shore of the Bay. Men and women draw the whale along the ground at the end of a long rope. Thirty or more people pull, in an atmosphere of intense excitement. Most of the group remains assembled until the butchering is completed, when gifts of meat are distributed to every family in the community regardless of ethnic affiliation. Also very intense social interaction occurs when Indians and Eskimos join in ball games. Eskimos occasionally join the Indians' nightly soccer match at the edge of the Indian camping-ground, but much more confidently do Indian youths enter the game of ball-throwing that Eskimo organize. When Indians join, the players usually promptly divide into two teams on ethnic group lines. In accordance with the game's object, each team then tries to keep the ball circulating among its own members and away from the rivals.¹ Eskimo girls and women take keen pleasure in playing "keep-away" (as we learned to call it), and their enthusiastic participation adds an additional attraction for young male Indians. Indian girls watch ball games but never play with men (nor, as far as my notes go, by themselves). The roughness with which both ball games are played makes them a convenient channel through which to abreact aggression. More directly, they allow skilful players to demonstrate ability and to further the goals of their team. Finally, mostly in the case of the almost nightly "keep-away" contests, they make specific Indians or Eskimo well known to members of the other group. Probably no other channel of interaction—not even dancing—contains the possibility of so much physical close contact and common emotional participation. I and other members of my party can confidently assert that linguistic handicaps scarcely interfere with the pleasure derived from "keep-away." Dancing, however, is a more sporadic activity. It occurs with much less regularity than ball games. Young Indians and Eskimos dance together on occasion; in fact, Eskimo girls with their social spontaneity and dancing skill are in heavy demand as partners. I will say more about the dances when I return to recreation (pp. 64-67).²

¹ The latter game has been reported for other Eskimo groups. See, for example, Birket-Smith, 1924: 393. At St. Michael young men played against women of the village; see Nelson 1899: 336-337.

² I believe that my data thoroughly refute what the radio operator at Great Whale River told Walker (1953: 19) about the Euro-Canadians on Government orders trying to keep the two ethnic groups "separate as much as possible." His prediction that mixing the two groups "was dynamite" and would lead to trouble is sheer fancy.

The sometimes open hostile contacts of Eskimo and Indian children have been reported on in another paper (Honigmann and Honigmann, 1953). Often interaction takes the form of teasing, initiated by Indians, as the following incident indicates (pseudonyms are used):

An Indian, Sammy, held Tommy Minor (Eskimo) by both hands. The latter tried to kick out at the other boy's stomach. The quarrel was said to have started when Sammy punched Tommy as the latter was swinging with a younger playmate. Sammy jumped free, and another Indian got into the fight, throwing Tommy to the ground several times. Tommy broke away and pursued his original tormenter, who kept his distance and refused to become engaged. Then Tommy returned to the swing. His claim was not disputed.

We have other instances of the same kind. Such hostilely tinged yet playful behaviour seems to be sought by young Indian boys as they stroll through the Eskimo campground. Many of the disputes were over access to the swing, which we had put up in front of our house in the middle of the Eskimo camping ground.

In addition to these modes of interaction, it is customary for every newly arrived adult or youth in the post in spring or early summer to shake hands with every other person whom he meets for the first time. This gesture extends across ethnic group lines and readily includes Euro-Canadian members of the community. The handshake expresses friendliness. Symbolically, it re-establishes interpersonal relations after the seven or eight months during which the total community was not in active interaction.

DIFFUSION

Evidence of diffusion between the two indigenous cultures is hard to see in the shadow of the overwhelming number of Euro-Canadian traits that have infiltrated both ways of life. Obvious items of Eskimo origin in Indian behaviour include the whale hunt and its equipment, including the Eskimo-made harpoon and float. Walker (1953: ch. 5) gives a good description and analysis of whaling in his M.A. thesis. Also clearly borrowed are sealskin boots, the use of white-whale hide, the parka (possible proof of Eskimo origin is the name, *istsiimaw'ekop*, "Eskimo coat"), and the semilunar knife used by women for scraping flesh from hides. Indian women, I learned, do not have the same use for the *ulu* that they have for standard knives purchased at the Company, and they avoid calling it by the same term (*mokoma'n*). They name it *tšakwaa'hiikan*.

The hammock, where Eskimo children sleep, may be of Indian extraction and so, I suspect, is the spruce-brush carpeting laid on tent floors by a very few Eskimo. Eskimos rarely use snowshoes, but when they do, they copy Indian models or buy them from the Indians. As in other parts of James Bay, Great Whale River snowshoes are filled with No. 2 twine rather than *babiche*. The failure of both the Eskimo sled and Indian toboggan to diffuse to the other ethnic division deserves mention; the controlling factor is probably ecological.

THE EURO-CANADIAN COMPONENT

So far, we have been talking only of two sectors of the social system of Great Whale River. Much of the Indian and Eskimo culture is directly or indirectly conditioned by the presence in the community of five or so

Euro-Canadians. It is primarily they who channel relations between Great Whale River and the larger social system of which the community is a part. During our presence, the Euro-Canadians included Harold Udgarten, Hudson's Bay Company pensioner, married to an Eskimo woman (p. 7); the Company store's manager and his wife, a childless couple; the Anglican missionary, a man with considerable Arctic experience; and, during the second summer, a radio operator employed by the Department of Transport to transmit weather data. Transitory visits by policemen, Company inspectors, Indian Affairs personnel, and occasional tourists will be referred to in a later section. The presence of the anthropologist, his wife, two children, and a student of anthropology (he was there during the first summer only) should also be kept in mind while reading this section and throughout.

Relations between Indians and Eskimos on the one hand and Euro-Canadians on the other are maintained largely through the services and goods which the latter provide. The two native groups, of course, see value in the goods and services offered, and so it is compatibility of interests that maintains the total community as a viable social system. In their role, Euro-Canadians encourage economic and a certain amount of emotional dependence in Indians and Eskimos. The Euro-Canadians fulfil this dependence but become dismayed when dependence grows too intense.

It is not immediately obvious that the church and store play important roles in welding the Eskimo and Indian components of the community into a single social system. Not that these organizations promote much significant common action, identification, or mutual understanding between the two ethnic groups, but they provide both with common foci: religion and goods of the wider society that are available in trade. The community is established through such common interests. The language of the Euro-Canadians, English, may some day further bridge the ethnic gap.

The Euro-Canadians are the dominant group in the total community. They are also the component with the highest prestige. We noticed a few Eskimo and Indian individuals who tended to identify with this component, speaking broken English readily or simply catering to the wishes of Euro-Canadian individuals. The Company's storekeeper in Richmond Gulf, especially showed eagerness to remain in the manager's good graces. The Indians exhibited marked consciousness of rank differences in the Euro-Canadian population, including those visible in the anthropologist's party. I was the boss (*utšimaw*), whereas my student assistant's title bore a diminutive suffix; he was the *utšimawšiiš*.

Relations between Euro-Canadians and the native component of the community are, of course, curtailed by the linguistic barrier. Relatively speaking, Euro-Canadians are positively fluent in Montagnais-Naskapi or Eskimo, compared to the indigenous people's practically total lack of command of English. In more precise terms, the missionary is considerably more fluent in Eskimo than the Company manager, though both use interpreters in their work. Harold Udgarten interpreted the missionary's sermons.

The primary role of the Company is to buy fur and sell imported hardware and food products, sealskins from the Belchers, and, occasionally, wood. Eskimo boots and handicrafts are purchased on a small scale and sent to other Hudson's Bay Company posts for resale at the same price which was paid to the maker. Small sealskin kayaks, for each of which the

manufacturer receives \$5, are one of the most common handicraft products (see p. 42). The manager would greatly prefer to buy ivory carvings, but few walrus are killed at Great Whale River. The Company also exports sealskin to East Coast posts where women will buy it to sew into boots. During the summer when no furs are available, Eskimo, who, unlike the Indians, cannot draw on much in the way of winter earnings, rely heavily on handicrafts for cash.

Secondary roles of the manager include administering subsidies, mainly relief and family allowances. These duties saddle him with a large volume of extra and very detailed duties. During our two visits the manager and his wife greatly regretted their officially limited ability to meet their felt responsibilities for native welfare. When a family falls on hard times, there is little that the manager can do on his own initiative except to radio to officials in Moose Factory who can authorize relief. He has few jobs to offer, especially in summer, the very season when possibilities of living off the country are slimmest.

In autumn the manager outfits trappers on credit ("debt") to be repaid from winter fur catches. Much higher debts go to Indians than to Eskimos. A debt of \$100 is practically unknown for an Eskimo, and amounts to \$25 and \$40 are reported to be usual, whereas some Indians receive \$300 and \$400 (though many receive considerably less). A trapper wants as much debt as he can secure in order to have enough food and ammunition to survive the winter comfortably. The manager, of course, will not issue debt beyond what he thinks the trapper's production will cover. The manager is the sole judge of that capacity, basing his estimate on the trapper's previous record. Some trappers will request debt even though a previous one remains unpaid or will send grown sons to request a new debt for the family. The presence of a competitive fur dealer at Richmond Gulf complicates the picture, for by selling furs here a man can "jump" his debt with the Company. If he sells only part of his catch to the competitor, the Company fails to learn the trapper's actual production. Hence the manager may in the future rank him as a poorer risk than he actually is.

Buying habits are controlled by what the store stocks. This stock, in turn, reflects the limited buying power of the native community. With few exceptions the Company stocks no foods that are a regular and highly relished part of the Eskimo's and Indian's diet. The possible exceptions, meat and fish in cans, are far too costly to be readily bought, and, anyhow, they scarcely consider them adequate substitutes for game. Administrators in the Department of Northern Affairs realize the inadequacy of the store as a place through which Eskimo can secure the food he values most highly. Hence they aim to encourage continued, and even intensified, exploitation of natural resources, knowing that the store can provide the traps, guns, ammunition, matches, soap, and other products which will facilitate the Eskimo's life on the coast (Honigmann, 1951).

By controlling a large canoe (the counterpart of the vanished umiak) the post manager can, to some degree, regulate the movements of Eskimo families to and from the coastal camps. Eskimos borrow the boat to dispatch their outfits to the place of the winter camps. In the spring they bring their equipment to the post in the canoe (see Plate V A). By delaying access to the canoe in spring, the manager encourages people to remain along the coast far into the month of June where, he believes

possibilities of existence are better than at the post. However, with the coming of spring, families customarily move within walking distance of the post so that, when summer comes, individuals find it easy to visit the post on foot for one purpose or another. The manager's wife, in her capacity as unofficial health visitor, encourages more hygienic behaviour in Eskimos and Indians (cf., Walker, 1953: 11-13).

The unmarried Anglican missionary has had long experience in the North and has a deep fondness for the region. If he possesses less over-all power and prestige than the Company manager, his role gives him greater authority to control certain sectors of behaviour. He uses the church to maintain social control. Offences by Eskimos or Indians become the subject of a sermon in which, without mentioning names, the minister holds up Christian ideals of conduct. The missionary also tries to control immoral behaviour by talking sternly to individuals and by threatening to report certain matters to the policeman when he visits. Apparently he quickly hears of immorality and vigilantly tries to inculcate Christian values. He seems to believe that Christian conventions rest only lightly on the people who without stern watchfulness would revert to pagan immorality. Individuals also appeal to the minister to intervene in their disputes. For example, a young man whose wife had left him to return to her family wanted the minister to talk to the woman, scold her, and induce her to return.

Up to this point my account has primarily been concerned with the attitudes and character that reside in the relationship between Euro-Canadians and the other ethnic groups in the community. The topics that actually encourage social interaction between the three parties are primarily labour, buying and selling, and religious activities. I shall discuss each rather briefly. Eskimos and Indians cut wood for the mission and Company (including wood intended for export to the Belcher Island post), unload the annual supply vessel, haul daily water, sew, act as house servants, pilot the Company vessel to the Belcher Islands, join on as auxiliary crew members for that voyage, and in 1950 started to build a new residence for the Company manager. All such work must be remunerated, and often a part of the remuneration is expected in advance, especially when the prospective worker's family is without food. The prevailing wage is \$2 daily (from 8 A.M. to 6 P.M., an hour for lunch) or 25 cents an hour. A pile of wood, 4 by 4 by 8 feet, earns a man \$5 after it is cut, rafted to the post, and stacked. Payment is as often given in kind (flour, baking powder, tobacco, lard) as in cash. It is worth noting how firmly the wage pattern has caught on in Great Whale River. Sometimes it is generalized rather further than Euro-Canadians expect. We heard that the manager's wife once instructed an Indian girl to care for another Indian who had received a serious burn. She obeyed but later asked the Company for payment. Earnings are shared with relatives outside the household. Eskimos are employed more than Indians, and the bulk of employment is provided by the Company. Yet, not all families with able-bodied men are represented equally on work crews. An attempt is made to get "good" workers. There is a tendency to hire men who are in the prime of adulthood, men like Isaac Tukuluk, Simeon Itušak, Paul Cookie, and Charles Fleming. Eskimo men work cheerfully and industriously, although they are not averse to resting. Keen competition for jobs is one factor that prevents wages from rising; another

is the limited budget on which Euro-Canadians must operate. The minister claims to be quite unable to employ help and hence does most domestic jobs himself, including hauling water and cutting firewood. Eskimo workers, when they measure their earnings against the prices charged in the store for the things they want, feel they are receiving very small returns for their work.

With funds earned by labour, from furs sold, and also from relief and family allowances, the Indians and Eskimos secure from the store the wealth of things that a modern northern community needs for adequate living. These goods include canvas for tents, duck for parkas, cloth for dresses, trimming for ornament, ammunition and firing arms, metal traps, cooking vessels, matches, axes and other tools, gramophones, violins, even steel for harpoon points, and, of course, food to be consumed along with country items (*see pp. 40-41, 59, 60*).

Through church services the indigenous people receive religious instruction and are led in prayer (*see pp. 68-9*). In the minister they have an officiant with authority to marry them and to baptize and bury their kin. The mission inadvertently contributes to the structural separateness of the Eskimos and Indians by conducting separate services for each. On the other hand, as already noted, Christianity does give both of these ethnic groups a common interest that holds them together in relation to the mission. On some occasions, like a wedding or burial, both groups do attend services together.

Some needs of the community, administrative and otherwise, are met by visitors who need remain only for a few days at a time in order to discharge their duties. The government doctor has already been mentioned. In 1949 the Indian Agent's office had recently been separated from that of the physician, who was attached to the Indian Health division of the Department of National Health and Welfare. The native groups did not immediately understand the bifurcation that had occurred between "money man" (as the Indians call the Indian Agent, in recognition of the fact that he authorizes relief to them) and doctor. The Indian Agent authorizes Indian relief and family allowances. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police, in company with a Northern Affairs officer, make periodic visits to administer Eskimo affairs. Two of their main obligations are to certify family-allowance credits and authorize Eskimo relief. In a quasi-magisterial role the policeman helps to resolve disputes. Serious offences, of course, would be referred to orthodox legal procedures. The Eskimos refer to the policeman's role by the term *ikatui'vuq*, "he judges."

The community is visited at intervals by the Anglican diocesan bishop, who sometimes manages to secure passage on aircraft belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company. The arrival of the bishop is marked by flying not only the Hudson's Bay Company emblem (as is also the case with other official visitors) but also the emblem of the Anglican Church in Canada. The following note reports the simultaneous arrival of the bishop and the government physician by plane on July 10, 1949:

The bishop's plane arrived at 12:30 p.m. while the Eskimo were in church. The Indian men rushed down first, the women and children afterwards. The men went straight to the shore, the women stopped up on the first terrace and then many descended to the shore to watch the bishop and the doctor alight.

The bishop shook hands all around, people pressing forward to do so with him. The women were very excited. The Eskimo women, released from church, remained up by Harold's [Udgarten's] house and only shook hands after the bishop had ascended. The Eskimo men, however, mixed with the crowd on the beach.

Excitement keynoted the occasion. Never before have I seen the Indian community in such a concerted body [focusing their attention on a single event].¹

All these official visitors normally put up in the residence of the Company manager, a custom that provides an opportunity for the manager to report to them on community problems and personalities. The relationship between each of these official visitors and the Company manager (or, in the case of the bishop, the minister as well) is much closer than that which any one of them has with individual Eskimos or Indians. This is not surprising. Language and other symbols link the visitors closely with the Company personnel and resident missionary.

¹ Compare this behaviour to the behavioural differences for the Indians and Eskimos reported by Hans Hoffmann, 1957.

III. ESKIMO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

My major effort in Great Whale River was devoted to Eskimo culture. In this chapter we leave the study of the total social network to focus on one segment of the community, the Eskimo. I will first consider Eskimo group relations and then turn to family organization. Parent-child relations have been treated comprehensively in another paper (Honigmann and Honigmann, 1953).

The ground plan of the Eskimo portion of the settlement (showing also where the Hudson's Bay Company's property is located) is given in Figure 2. The following is a list of the one hundred, approximately, Eskimo inhabitants of the tents and houses shown (listed by age, and census number when known). Tent numbers refer to the map. (See also Plate IV A.)

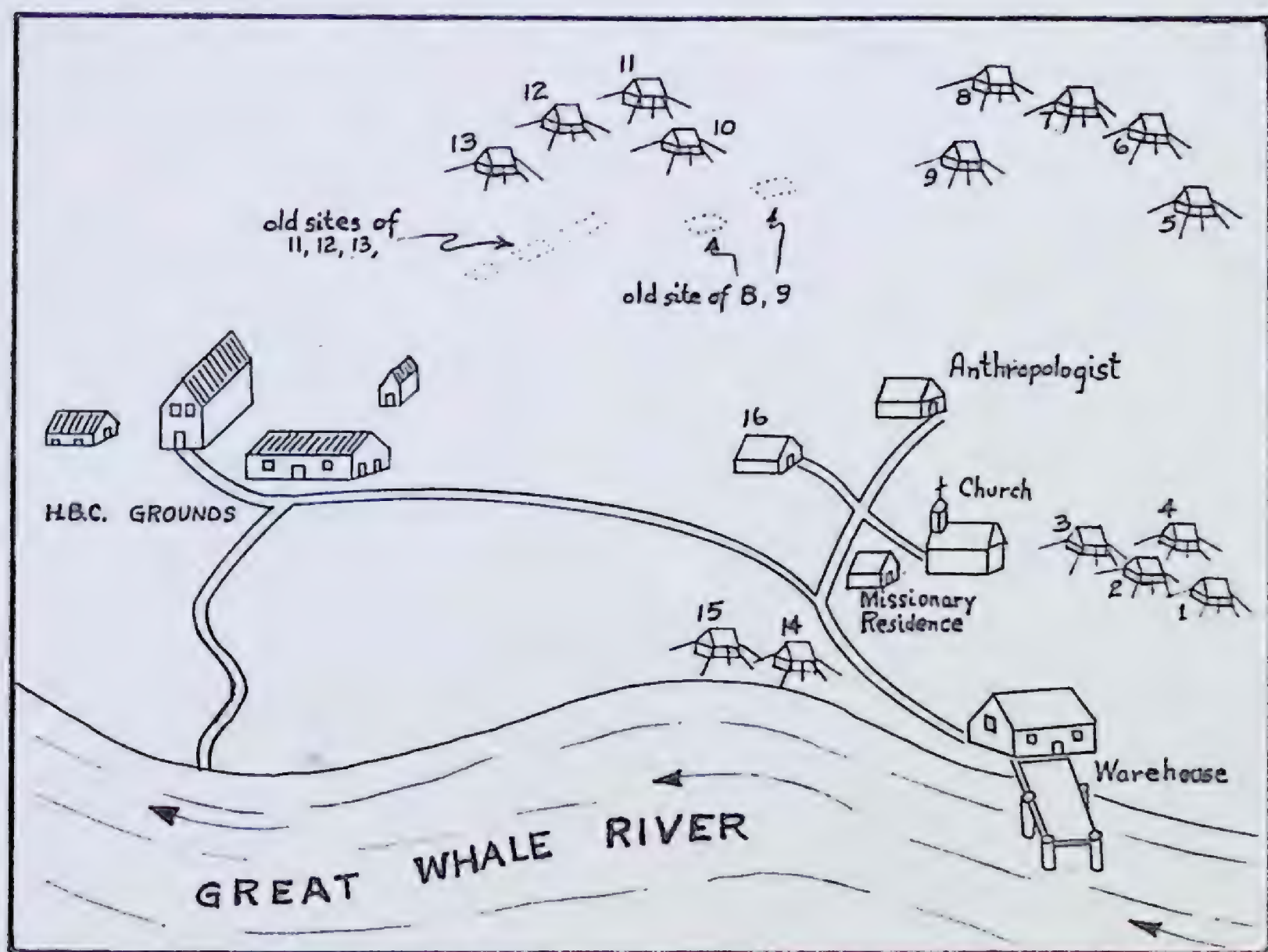


FIGURE 2. Sketch Map of Great Whale River Eskimo tents and Hudson's Bay Company buildings in 1949.

TENT 1

Jane Mipigak (née Sapa), widow and Mo, 64, E9-311. She is the Mo of
 Maria in Tent 2 and Louisa, House 17
 Sam (also called Sapa), So, 27, lame, E9-312
 Dinah, Da, 20, E9-313
 Annie, Da, 18, E9-314

TENT 2

Simeon Itušaq, Hu, 34, E9-410. He is Richard Fleming's (Tent 4) Mo Si So, and hence also a cousin of Timothy in Tent 3. Daniel Angotikalug in Tent 13 is Simeon's Mo Br So and Sarah (Tent 10) his Mo Br Da

Maria (née Mipigak), Wi, 32, E9-411. Her Mo lives in Tent 1, and a Si, Louisa, in House 17. Her Fa Si is the wife of David Mikiyuq (Tent 12)

David, So, 10

Mina, Da, 3

George, So, 5

TENT 3

Timothy Fleming, Hu, 35, E9-270. He is the So of Richard in Tent 4 and Simeon Itušaq's (Tent 2) Mo Si So So. He is also related to people in Tents 10 and 13

Mary (née Šawk), Wi, 33, E9-271. Si of Paul, Tent B

Richard, So, 13, E9-272

Minny, Da, 10, E9-273

Charlie Nuktaj (relationship unknown), E9-321, So of Mary Nuktaj, Tent 15

TENT 4

Richard Fleming, Hu, 53, E9-265. His son, Timothy, lives in Tent 3 and a brother, Johnny, in House 17. His Mo Si So, Simeon, lives in Tent 2; his Mo Br So, Daniel, in Tent 13; his Mo Br Da in Tent 10.

Alice (née Witoltoq), Wi, 51, E9-266

TENT 5

Sam Crow, Hu, 46, E9-259. Two of his Das live in Tent 6

Betsy (née Inogak), Wi, E9-261

Mary, Da, 19, E9-261

Mina, Da, 17, E9-262

Robie, So, 11, E9-263

Charlie, So, 6, E9-264

TENT 6

Simeon Tukaluq, Hu, 26, E9-357; So of Sarah, Tent 7; Br of Isaac, Tent 7; and Br of Mary Anne, Tent 8

Martha (née Crow), Wi, 21, E9-358. She is the Si of Elizabeth who lives in the same tent. Her parents live in Tent 5

Betsy, Da, 2, E9-359

Charlie Sapa, Hu, 26, E9-326

Elizabeth (née Crow), Wi, 26, E9-327. She is the sister of Martha Tukaluq who lives in the same tent. Her parents live in Tent 5

Caroline, Da

TENT 7

Isaac Tukaluq, Hu, 29, E9-351; Br of Simeon, Tent 6; Mary Anne, Tent 8
 Dinah, Wi, 28, E9-352
 Job, So, 5, E9-353
 Sarah Tukaluq, Mo, 54, E9-354; she is also the Mo of Simeon, Tent 6, and
 Mary Anne, Tent 8
 Sarah, Si of Isaac, 17, E9-356

TENT 8

Jacob Tumiq, Hu, 33, E9-377
 Mary Anne (née Tukaluq), Wi, 35, E9-378; Da of Sarah, Tent 7; Br of
 Isaac, Tent 7, and Br of Simeon, Tent 6
 Isaac, So, 2, E9-379
 Ernest, So, 1, E9-400

TENT 9

Joe Atlikuq, Hu, 43, E9-201
 Louisa (née Ixhaluq), Wi, 44, E9-202
 Mary, Da, 16, E9-204
 Noah, So, 14, E9-203
 Rhoda, Da, 6, E9-205
 Sarah, Da, 1
 Louisa Taušik, adopted Da and orphan, 14, E9-206; Si of Lucy, Tent
 12, and half-sister of Mary Taušik, House 16

TENT 10

Paul Cookie, Hu, 36, E9-242. Br of Joe, Tent 11, and Br of Doris, Tent 13,
 and Alice, Tent 12
 Sarah (née Angotikaluq), Wi, 36, E9-243. Si of Daniel, Tent 13; Si of
 Winnie, Tent 11; her Fa was Simeon Itušaq's (Tent 2) Mo Br and
 also Richard Fleming's (Tent 4) Mo Br. Timothy in Tent 3 is
 her Fa Si So So. A Si, Nelly, lives in the same tent
 Daniel, So, 20, E9-244
 Silas, So, 17, E9-237
 John, So, 14, E9-245
 Paul, So, 12, E9-246
 Elizabeth, Da, 6, E9-247
 Charles, So, 2, E9-248
 Nelly Angotikaluq, Si of Sarah, 13

TENT 11

Joe Cookie, Hu, 35, E9-238, Br of Paul, Tent 10; Br of Alice, Tent 12;
Br of Doris, Tent 13

Winnie (née Angotikaluk) Wi, 30, E9-239, Si or Sarah, Tent 10, and Daniel,
Tent 13

Johnny, So, 10, E9-240

Jean, Da, 3, E9-241

Sarah, Da, 1, E9-387

Rhoda Cookie (née Arnngnatuk), 67, E9-235. She is the Mo of Paul, Tent 10;
Joe and Robie, Tent 11; Alice, Tent 12; and Doris, Tent 13 (see
Plate VI B).

Robie Cookie, Br, 20

TENT 12

David Mikiyuq, Hu, 47, E9-295, Si of Caroline Angotikaluk, House 16

Hannah (née Ingrootsiak), Wi, 45, E9-296. She is a sister of Simeon Itušaq's
(Tent 2) deceased mother and a sister of Jane Mipigak's (Tent 1)
deceased Hu. One Br Da lives in Tent 2 and another in House 17

Jean, Da, 15, E9-297

Joseph, So, 9, E9-298

Jimmy, apparently David's son by previous marriage, 25, E9-300

Alice (née Cookie), Wi of Jimmy and Si of Paul and Joe Cookie (see
Tents 10 and 11), E9-301

Rhoda, Da, E9-302

Paulasi, So

Lucy Taušik, adopted Da and orphan, E9-299, Si of Louisa, Tent 9,
and half-sister of Mary Taušik, House 16

TENT 13

Daniel Angotikaluk, Hu, 41, E9-222, Br of Sarah, Tent 10, and Winnie,
Tent 11, and Alice, Tent 12. His father was Simeon Itušaq's
(Tent 2) Mo Br and also Richard Fleming's (Tent 4) Mo Br

Doris (née Cookie) Wi, 40, E9-223, Si of Paul and Joe Cookie, Tents 10
and 11; Si of Alice, Tent 12; and Da of Rhoda, Tent 11

Jane, Da, 20, E9-224

Mina, Da, 17, E9-225

Daniel (also called Willy) So, 15, E9-227

Joseph, So, 7, E9-228

Maggy, Da, 4, E9-229

Paulasi, So, 2, E9-230

TENT 14

Charles Tuktuq, Hu, 23, E9-361

Lizzy (née Šem), Wi, 22, E9-394 (part Indian)

Daughter, illegitimate, of Lizzy, 2

Peter, So, 3 mos.

Hannah Tuktuq (née Tukaluq), Mo of Charles, 37, E9-360

Willy, Br of Charles, 16, E9-362

Lucy, Si of Charles, 11, E9-364

David, Br of Charles, 7, E9-365

TENT 15

Mary Nuktaj, 48, E9-320 (died July 15, 1950); Mo of Charlie, Tent 3

TENT 16 ("SAPA HOUSE")

Caroline Angotikaluq (née Miloktuq) widow, 35, E9-231, Si of David
Mikiyuq, Tent 12

Peter, So, 11, E9-232

Mary, Da, about 14

James, So, 7, E9-233

Alice, Da, 4, E9-234

Alice, Si

Charles (also called Mosquito), Br, E9-308

Sapa, Br (or more likely, Caroline's brother by another marriage) 39,
E9-303

Mary Taušik, Wi of Sapa, 37, E9-304. Her deceased Mo was the first Wi
of Johnny Taušik, the Fa of Louisa and Lucy in Tents 9 and 12
respectively

HOUSE 17 (omitted from map, but see Plate III B)

Johnny Fleming, Hu, 29, E9-274, Br of Richard, Tent 4

Louisa (née Mipigak), Wi, 23, E9-275. Her Mo lives in Tent 1; a Si, Maria,
in Tent 2; and her Fa Si in Tent 12

Clara Fleming, Da of Richard (see Tent 4), 23, E9-267; she is Johnny's
Br Da

Sam Nuktaj; he is the So of David Mikiyuq's Wi (Tent 12); he is also
Simeon's (Tent 2) Mo Si So and Johnny's Mo Si So

(This house belongs to Harold Udgarten. He lives here with his wife
who is also a Fleming. See p. 7.)

The following units were not camped in the post when the above census was taken:

TENT A

Mark Tukatuq, Hu, 48, E9-370. He is the Fa of Lucy in Tent D. His Fa was Arngetoq and Mo, Innuka.

Louisa (née Inukpuq), Wi, 48, E9-371

David, So, 12, E9-372

Dinah, Da, 9, E9-373

Johnny, So, 7, E9-374

Simeon, So, 29, E9-375

Annie (née Meeko) Wi of Simeon, E9-376. She is the Da of Mary Meeko, the Mo in Tent D; Si of Jane, Tent B; Si of Agnes, Tent C; and Si of Noah, Tent D.

Alec, So of Simeon, age about 1 year

TENT B

Paul Sawk, Hu, 31, E9-328. Br of Mary, Tent 3

Jane (née Meeko), Wi, 29, E9-324; Da of Mary in Tent D; Si of Annie in Tent A; Si of Agnes, Tent C; and Br of Noah, Tent D

Mary, Da, 11

Martha, Da, 8, E9-330

Isaac, So, 5, E9-331

TENT C

Alec Tuktuq, Hu, 33, E9-367. His Fa was Charles Tuktuq and his Mo, Anna

Agnes (née Meeko), Wi, 28, E9-368; Da of Mary in Tent D; Si of Jane, Tent B; Si of Annie, Tent A; and Br of Noah, Tent D

TENT D

Noah Meeko, Hu, 23, E9-318. Si of Annie, Tent A; Jane, Tent B; Agnes, Tent C; and So of Mary in Tent D

Lucy (née Tukatuq), Wi, 20, E9-319. Da of Mark, Tent A

Mary (née Silukik), 52, E9-315. Mo of Noah in this tent; Annie, Tent A; Jane, Tent B; and Agnes, Tent C

TENOR OF LIFE AND VALUES

I shall describe, first, the unhurried tenor of life as I witnessed it in the summer settlement at Great Whale River. No doubt, many adjustments in behaviour are made to the long, cold winter by the few families isolated together in each of the coastal camps that I shall later describe. On the other hand, the values I will subsequently discuss continue without doubt to govern life in the cold season of the year.

Families rise around 7:00 A.M. in summer, though men who go on long hunting or fishing expeditions may leave the post earlier. On week days, following a visit to the toilet area, the women begin the day's work: washing clothes in a tub or down by the river; working on skins; sewing clothes, especially boots; and cooking. In the tents the prevailing sitting place is the sleeping area located at the rear. It is analogous to the raised platform of the traditional winter house. A peeled pole four or five inches in diameter separates this area from the rest of the dwelling. Men who do not leave the post also work outdoors, in June frequently pausing to drive off the small black flies, so annoying at this time of the year. Women protect themselves against these insects by draping a towel over head and neck, the same towel with which they mop away perspiration. The evening is free for unmarried girls who have been busy in their homes most of the day. By 10 o'clock (it gets dark at this time in early summer) women call their young children to bed, and by 11 o'clock many people have retired. I heard that in winter when darkness comes as early as 3:00 or 4:00 P.M., people go to sleep between 9 and 10 o'clock. The dark hours before bedtime are illuminated by seal-blubber lamps. In that season the sun rises some time around 8:00 A.M. when people arise and make fires. If it is very cold, a fire may also be made in the middle of the night. On Sunday an air of special quiet hangs over the post (*see* p. 68).

When the Eskimo are camped together, they show considerable co-operation. For example, friends and relatives assist when a family sets up, takes down, or simply shifts its tent. Particularly do unmarried girls from other households help one another in this task. Men may help the husband pack some of the heavy goods from the campground down to the boat. There is no compulsion in such assistance, no formal expectation that help will be forthcoming. I once saw a popular young couple move camp while a group of ball-playing neighbours continued with their game a short distance away. Men also assist each other in complicated jobs, such as repairing a stove. Capital goods, notably tools, are loaned, of course without interest. Hunting trips undertaken by two men solve the problem faced by men who do not own a kayak or canoe.

Complementing the co-operation that people render to one another is an absence of open rivalry that is easily explained by the lack of structural goals in the community for which men might be tempted to compete. No doubt, men are occasionally jealous of one another's influence and prestige, but their feeling is an individual matter and is far from conspicuous. There is no class structure in which families are expected to advance themselves, no elected leadership to which men may aspire, and no channels for competitive exchanges. Relationships between individuals are in their own way gracious but informal and relaxed. The pattern is qualitatively distinct from the one I found among Pathans in the former Northwest Frontier Province of Pakistan. Here, too, men are gracious in their relations, but behaviour is more formal. People approach each other intensely, trying to make an impression. It is this thrust of one personality into the awareness of the other that I call "intense interaction." We had the feeling that the Great Whale River Eskimo are not used to coping with too intense interaction or relations with many people. Perhaps this is what the Rorschach records reveal when they show shallow affect (pp. 87-99). The relative crowding of Eskimos, Indians, and visitors into the post in midsummer

produces unaccustomed excitement and tension, which people do not find wholly pleasant. As I have suggested, rules of etiquette are not highly developed. This generalization came to me forcefully on one occasion when I observed a girl throw down an ulu in front of her sister. Much similar casual behaviour can be observed. The Eskimo *do* have canons of taste that govern social relations. But their behaviour is comparatively little modified in order to express niceties of sentiment, particularly respect, in the manner by which we regulate our own social life.

As we shall see, the Eskimo social system is without formal leadership and also lacks formal patterns of social control. Common values are as important to maintain these people in continuous, orderly interaction as they are to preserve the total community of Great Whale River.

One of the strongest Eskimo values governs expression of aggression. "Fighting is not good," our informant firmly declared. "Huskies here do not do this." And with the exception of one case of wife-beating that came to our attention, my data confirm his generalization of the peaceable quality of Eskimo life. Training in the control of aggression is one of the strongest lessons that occur in a child's life (Honigmann and Honigmann, 1953: 41). The "keep-away" game, described previously, assumes special significance in view of the paramount value attached to non-aggression, since the game very likely provides a channel for the regular discharge of accumulated interpersonal tension and hostility.

Another value that people live up to equally closely is respect for property. Despite the premium placed on generosity and the regular distribution of large game and other resources, the Eskimo recognize private property and accept the norm that another person's goods must be respected. The limits of individual ownership, however, are definitely circumscribed by the conception that one who has possessions must share them with others who are in need. Private property implies that stealing is wrong. My main informant thought that theft was a far worse sin than adultery (though not so grievous an offence as fighting).

Enough has been said to indicate that generosity is highly evaluated. It is another value very much implemented in day-to-day behaviour. Conversely, selfishness is not approved. We heard criticism of some people who were accused of being stingy. However, one subject of these accusations, a strong and dominant man, did not seem at all embarrassed by them. He may not have been aware of criticism. An immigrant from the Belchers said that sharing is carried to far greater lengths in the Belcher Islands than at Great Whale River. Jesus is cited as commanding men to share goods. This is the only value that I recall having been justified by the teachings of Christianity. The pattern of sharing was once reportedly carried to such an extreme by an outpost manager of the Hudson's Bay Company that he gave store goods to his relatives. One exception to this pattern of generosity is not entirely clear to me. We hired a girl in 1950 to work in our house. Her family was one of the poorer ones in the post and received relief. Yet each payday she spent most of her earnings on clothes or other personal possessions and invested little in food or other things useful to her family. I am not sure if such independence in a girl who had reached adulthood is approved or not, though I suspect that her parents put no pressure on her

to act otherwise. We ourselves felt the impact of this norm of sharing, for we clearly held food and clothing in relative abundance while other members of the community were in need. Pressure was put on us to give. The demands were usually for small things (tobacco and cigarettes, for example), but it was sufficiently strong to make us feel the disparity in values and manners.

Sexual chastity is valued. Nevertheless sexual relations do occur outside of marriage. The force of condemnatory public opinion could be observed in 1950 in the case of one couple, including a 35-year-old widow pregnant from an adulterous liaison. Though community opinion, supported by the missionary, put primary responsibility on the man, both individuals were equally deeply embarrassed. The woman's paramour did not stay in the post, and the widow with almost neurotic steadfastness refused to leave her tent during the summer.

The intensity with which these moral values are imposed has been indicated in the example of the two adulterers and their manifest discomfort. We have also the case of a young wife-beater who was also made ill at ease when reports of his behaviour began to spread through the community. These people are not openly reproached for illicit behaviour (except by the missionary, but we are now talking of the Eskimo segment of the community). Criticism is covert. Yet word often gets back to the offender. Then no ready ways exist in which he can equalize, either by confession, imprisonment, a fine, a public ceremony of expiation, or a ritual of reintegration. Such devices might, under certain conditions, allow an individual to restore his self-esteem. In their absence, the offending Eskimo can only wait until time erases his sense of shame and until gossip dies away.

We have not exhausted all the values in terms of which Eskimo life attains a degree of meaningful consensus and dignity. As in any community, modesty with respect to excretory behaviour also functions in this context, though again the standards of modesty are different from our own. Young children between 3 and 7 who have acquired sphincter control still relieve themselves with the greatest casualness outside the dwelling and some distance away from it. Girls seek a bit more privacy than boys, perhaps going around to the back of a tent and taking advantage of tall grass. With increasing age, privacy becomes more important to the child, but even with adults there is no undue embarrassment connected with bodily functions. A sixteen-year-old girl illustrated this during a canoe trip up the coast. At one point she asked the pilot to stop the canoe at an ice-floe. She jumped off and, in the sight of everybody in the canoe, smiled, turned her back and, simultaneously pulling down bloomers and squatting, proceeded to urinate. She did this so cleverly that no part of her uncovered body showed. Ordinarily adult women do not relieve themselves in public. A high, sandy hill between the camp area and the river is the favourite place where women go in pairs, incidentally using the elevation to look around, perhaps to see if returning white whale hunters are entering the harbour. Eskimo men are less concerned about urinating in view of one another than the Cree Indians of Attawapiskat, Ontario. We observed two ways in

which a man urinates. In one he walks a short distance from the group, faces away, and draws forth his penis. In the other he goes a smaller distance from the group, squats back on his heels, and urinates. In canoes, men urinate overboard by kneeling against the gunwales, but women probably use a tin kept aboard for that purpose. During winter nights a chamberpot (ko'qviq) in the tent serves adults and children, but in summer only young children use this facility. Apparently in olden days people who lived in a snowhouse used a hole in the snow floor. Passing wind is not done casually, and the laughter it provokes probably stems from embarrassment.

LEADERSHIP AND PRESTIGE

The Eskimo form an acephalous group which in winter is segmented into camps organized in predominantly nuclear family households. During the summer nuclear households also prevail at Great Whale River.

The fact that the Eskimo are without a formal leader does not mean that they fail to recognize differences in authority. Some individual adult men are accorded more power and possess higher prestige than others. Such men are effective leaders in the winter camps, and their authority also directs informal decision-making when the Inuit are in Great Whale River. Two such leaders are Paul Cookie and Richard Fleming. Both have assertive personalities that distinguish them from most other men. Richard Fleming also speaks Cree unabashedly in public and with considerable fluency (but I do not know at what standard of excellence). I even saw him direct Indians on one occasion when a white whale was being dragged into the post for butchering. However, the term "boss" (angoroka'q) is not applied to such men. It is reserved for the skipper of the Hudson's Bay craft, the Company's manager, and is also used to refer to an outpost manager, whether or not the latter is a native. One man told me it also applies to the Indian chief. Another powerful Eskimo may be Charlie Komarluq, a former outpost manager for the Hudson's Bay Company in the Belcher Islands. I never saw this man, whom I heard described as a "chief" for all the Great Whale River Eskimo. Leadership in Eskimo affairs is also exercised by Harold Udgarten, the man who interprets church sermons for the missionary and acts as interpreter for visiting Government officials. His house constitutes a kind of community centre for Eskimo women, and visiting Eskimo sometimes put up there for the night, at least in winter. We have heard Harold express disapproval of individual Eskimos' behaviour. Once he warned the wife-beater that he would report him to the police. But according to my informant, any Eskimo will inform the police patrol about a troublemaker or about serious misbehaviour. Apparently the people rely on the authority of the police to run their affairs and find it easier to proceed this way than to elaborate their own leadership and legal structures. In Harold Udgarten the combination of moral and practical authority deserves special notice. Through his role as church interpreter he is associated with religion. He takes other opportunities to explain the Bible both to Eskimos and Indians. My hypothesis is that Eskimos, like Indians, are most willing to ascribe authority to someone who is a "good talker," meaning someone who exhorts people to behave morally.

who outspokenly condemns misbehaviour, and who, in addition, shows good sense in practical measures. Such qualities identified traditional leaders in these acephalous communities and supported the authority from which their power stemmed.

The fact that some men possess more power than others automatically indicates the uneven distribution of prestige. Unequal rank is readily acknowledged by the Eskimo. My informant was also quite ready to reject what he regarded to be spurious claims to prestige made by people who put on airs and pretend they are wealthy. Inside, my informant said, as he pointed to his chest, they are far from rich. The same man denied that economic classes existed. Nobody, he declared, was utterly poor or extraordinarily well off (cf., Payne, 1899: 226). Only the Company and the missionary could be considered rich, he pointed out.

LIFE IN WINTER AND SPRING CAMPS

During a large part of the year—from September through May and even June—the Eskimo make their homes in tents scattered along the coast of Hudson Bay above Cape Jones (Figure 1). Except for a brief visit to a nearby spring camp on Manitunik Sound, I made no first-hand observations of life in the camps. The following information, however, provides some understanding of the composition of these groupings and the winter standard of living.

The composition of the camps is variable from one season to another, and there is also shifting of personnel from one camp to another or to the Post during the same winter. From my few records I estimate the size of a winter camp to be about twenty to twenty-five men, women, and children, though my notes on one camp enumerate a total of 39 people living in six tents.¹ This camp was composed of the following households:

Household of Paul Cookie (Tent 10)

Household of his brother, Joe Cookie (Tent 11)

Household of Jimmy Mikiyuq, who is married to Paul's and Joe's wives' Sis (in 1949 he lived in Tent 12)

Household of Caroline Angotikaluq (House 16) who quit the camp in early spring to return to Great Whale River. A widow, she had been married to a Br of the wives of Paul and Joe Cookie

Household of Isaac Tukaluq (Tent 7)

Household of Jacob Tumiq whose Wi, Mary Anne, is a Si of Isaac (Tent 8). In his tent lived Simeon Tukaluq, Br of Isaac and of Mary Anne (Tent 2)

Analysis suggests that the camp consisted of two, and as far as I know unrelated, kin groups. One centred around the two brothers, Paul and Joe Cookie, married to two sisters; it included their Si, her Hu, Jimmy Mikiyuq, and Caroline Angotikaluq, widowed sister of a brother of Paul's and Joe's wives. The other kin group centred around two brothers, Isaac and Simeon Tukaluq, and included their very dominant sister, Mary Anne, and her husband, Jacob Tumiq.

¹ A Royal Canadian Mounted Policeman estimated Belcher Island Camps to range from 40 to 60 persons. Four camps accommodate the total population, he said.

Some members of Paul Cookie's camp found themselves members of a spring camp with quite a different population. The four tents in this spring-time community on Manitunik Sound housed the following households:

Household of Isaac Tukaluq, including his widowed Mo, Sarah, and a brother, Charles (Tent 7)

Household of Simeon, Br of Isaac and Si of Jacob Tumi's Wi (Tent 6)

Household of Jacob Tumi and his Wi who is the Si of Charles, Simeon, and Isaac (Tent 8)

Household of Joe Atlikuq (Tent 9)

Three brothers, a sister, and their mother formed the nucleus of this group, the sister, Mary Anne, again bringing in her husband. Joe Atlikuq, who originally lived on the Belcher Islands, is unrelated to this nucleus either affinally or genealogically.

Another camp about which I have information contained twenty-four people living in four tents and included at least seven active male hunters.

The composition follows:

Joint household of Mark and his married son, Simeon Tukatuq (Tent A)

Household of Alec Tuktuq whose Wi, Agnes, is a Si to Simeon Tukatuq's Wi, Annie (Tent C)

Household of Paul Šawk whose Wi, Jane, is another Si of Simeon's Wi and, of course, Si to the Wi of Alec Tuktuq (Tent B)

Household of Noah Meeko, Br of Simeon's Wi, Alec's Wi, and Paul's Wi. Noah's Wi, Lucy, is a Da of Mark Tukatuq (Tent D)

One kin group consists of Mark, a son, and a daughter. A second kin group, affinally connected with these, centres around three sisters and their brother, Noah.

No simple principle governs the grouping of households in a winter camp, although genealogical and affinal kinships are very important factors. When unrelated families join a camp, congeniality is also significant. One man told me that he would hate to winter again in a camp of which a certain woman, let us say Marie, was also a member. Her brash, domineering, and quarrelsome manner disturbed him.

To the extent that the winter camp shares food and exploits a common terrain, it might be considered a corporate group. Judging from summer behaviour, members probably also borrow one another's productive capital. In the summer of 1949 a Northern Affairs official discussed the possibility of putting a high-power gun and ammunition in each camp for common use. Such a move would be congruent with present usages.

I spent some effort trying to discover whether households changed their composition from the winter of 1948-49 to the summer of 1949. Without

attempting to quantify facts, my data indicate a slight tendency for households (tents) to be larger in winter than during the summer, but in many cases the household continued practically unchanged from one season to another.

The standard of living in the winter camps depends both on country food and on edibles secured from the store in exchange for furs, manufactures, labour, or on relief and family allowances. There are times in the winter when storms interfere with hunting and when supplies of store food are also exhausted. Then people experience hunger and threat of starvation. Table III shows the reported quantities of animals killed and of store products consumed by a picked number of families. The information was collected in late June 1949. Obviously, Eskimo memories cannot be considered any more dependable than our own, when nine months eating are involved. The possibility that informants deliberately underestimated, in order to impress me and other people whom they expected would read of my work, should be kept in mind, though I doubt that there was much, if any, deliberate misrepresentation. Inevitably some of the animal food reported to have been caught by a family was distributed to other households. From the opposite point of view, every respondent doubtlessly received meat and fish killed by other camp members and probably also store products. The number of fish caught is almost certainly grossly underestimated, for reasons which I cannot wholly understand. I have not troubled to include occasional tins of meat, jam, molasses, syrup, or pork and beans in the list of store foods, nor commodities like prunes, raisins, and pilot biscuits.

A note about method. Family heads were interviewed with the aid of a mimeographed schedule; hence all families were asked the same questions. For some items the schedule was more specific than the list which follows (for example, in types of fish). Unfortunately, the limited ability of the interpreter prevented our asking more search questions which would have helped to clear up ambiguities that remain in the table. The following men were interviewed concerning food brought into their winter households. Numbers refer to Table III. (1) Simeon Itušaq, (2) Timothy Fleming, (3) Simeon Tukaluq (excluding family of Charlie Sapa, which lived with Simeon in the summer of 1949), (4) Jacob Tumiq, (5) Joe Atlikuq, (6) Paul Cookie, including kills made by his sons Daniel and Johnny, (7) Joe Cookie, who claimed his winter household had included ten or eleven persons, (8) David Mikiyuq and his son, Jimmy, who also claimed a household of ten or eleven persons, (9) Daniel Angotikaluk, and (10) Charlie Tuktuk, who is reputed to be an especially skilful and industrious trapper. He also claimed to have been very successful in previous years, catching 30 fox and 157 ptarmigan in the winter of 1946-47. In 1947-48 he claimed he killed 184 ptarmigan and 41 geese as well as 7 square-flipper seals.

TABLE III

Food Killed or Secured from the Store by Ten Eskimo Families
Winter of 1948 - 49

Item	FAMILY									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<i>Country Food (No.)</i>										
Seal.....	8	49	20	20	59	33	30	20	13	68
Square-flipper seal.....	1	9	—	—	5	2	6	1	1	3
Rabbit.....	2	10	—	8	12	36	4	10	1	13
White whale.....	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—
Squirrel.....	4	10	—	3	5	—	5	1	4	—
Weasel.....	6	—	10	—	5	16	10	—	25	98
Fox.....	—	3	—	—	—	1	2	1	1	3
Muskrat.....	—	20	17	42	20	54	23	25	20	64
Mink.....	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	1
Ptarmigan.....	22	20	70	100	50	230	100	20	106	148
Duck.....	5	18	1	22	167	47	6	—	16	57
Goose*.....	5	136	—	25	12	13	—	18	—	—
Gulls.....	—	7	—	—	54	16	20	25	13	54
Hawk.....	—	5	—	—	—	—	2	—	1	9
Fish.....	30†	250	40	35	80	324	30	44	10	327
<i>Store Food (lb.)</i>										
Flour.....	500	900	150	150	800	900	900	900	129	349
Sugar.....	20	90	20	20	145	90	45	45	10	40
Rolled oats.....	54	—	42	42	120	108	108	27	18	54
Lard.....	9	—	—	—	—	54	36	63	—	30
Powdered milk.....	20	—	20	20	10	54	8	45	—	9
Tea.....	8	9	10	15	50	—	9	10	—	13
Coffee.....	8	5	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	3
Salt.....	6	10	—	—	—	18	18	7	18	—
Baking powder.....	4	—	3	6	30	—	4½	9	—	10

* Includes snow and blue geese, which are in the majority of geese killed.

† Informant specified that this number had been killed in the spring.

Winter buying habits of family heads can be judged from the following sales slips made out to Isaac Tukaluq by the Hudson's Bay Company.

October 1949	Merchandise	\$3.00
	Shot	3.00
	30/30	1.00
	Powder	.50
	Primers	.40
	Tea	2.20
	Coffee	.50
	Tobacco	1.75
	2 [Cigarette] papers	.30
	Flour	.60
	Soap	.55
	Flints	.10
	Tea	.50
	Batteries	.35
	Thread	.25
November 1949	Grub	.60
	Coffee	.25
	Shot	2.00
	30/30	1.00
	Primers	.75
	Tea	1.70
	24 [lb.] flour	2.75
	Baking powder	.25
December 1949	Drill	3.50
	24 [lb.] flour	2.75
	1 Tea	1.70
	4 Tobacco	1.20
	1 [Cigarette] paper	.15
	Soap & matches	.45

Later in December, Isaac bought 35 cents worth of candy and one package of chewing gum for 10 cents. There is no other record of candy in the slips available, which run up to February.

Credit slips issued by the store also reveal some Eskimo earnings. (However, the possibility that additional furs may have been disposed of through other channels should be kept in mind.) From December 1949 to March 1950, Paul Cookie sold \$55.70 worth of furs, mostly red fox and ermine. From November of the same year through part of February, Charlie Tukaluq sold \$281.90 worth of furs and earned \$133.00 from the sale of boots, dogs, and labour. In December, January, and part of February, Simeon Itusaq was credited for furs worth \$23.75. Young Noah Atlikuq sold only \$10.55 in furs during December, January, and February. Combined earnings of Isaac Tukaluq from furs and boots totalled \$79.75 over the period starting November 14, 1950, and ending in February. In the same period Daniel Cookie earned \$70.00 from furs alone, and Joe Cookie only \$28.50. Joe Atlikuq from the sale of geese, sealskins, boots, 2 fox skins, and 22 rat skins earned \$76.25 during the winter of 1948-49. Anyone familiar with northern Indian fur trapping will recognize how extremely meagre are the earnings which these figures represent.

A large proportion of handicraft production occurs in winter. Tables IV and V indicate how this production is distributed among families.

TABLE IV
Women's Boot Production, Great Whale River Eskimo*

Maker	Number of pairs of boots reportedly made in		1949-50 Number of pairs of boots reportedly sold at	
	1949-50	1948-49	\$2.75	\$1.50
Mary Sapa.....	10	?	2	8
Caroline Sapa.....	24	18	1	3
Sarah Cookie.....	8	5	8	—
Mrs. Jimmy Mikiyuq.....	20	15	10	2
Hannah Mikiyuq.....	28	?	15	1
Alice Cookie.....	4	?	1	—
Mrs. Daniel Angotikalug.....	15	5	5	—
Jane Angotikalug.....	2	1	2	—
Hannah Tuktuq.....	20	3	3	17
Dinah Tukaluq.....	20	?	6	2
Martha Tukaluq.....	10	5	1	—
Mrs. Joe Atlikuq.....	24	30	10	—

* A question mark indicates that the informant could not recall the information. A dash indicates none.

TABLE V
Men's Production of Handicrafts, Great Whale River Eskimo

Maker	Number of sealskin model kayaks report- edly made, 1949-50*	Number of ivory model kayaks report- edly made, 1949-50
Jimmy Mikiyuq.....	2	—
Paul Cookie.....	4	—
Daniel Cookie.....	2	—
Sam Mikiyuq.....	2	—
David Mikiyuq.....	1	5
Daniel Angotikalug.....	3	—
Jacob Tumiq.....	3	7
Isaac Tukaluq.....	—	—
Simeon Tukaluq.....	2	2
Charlie Tukaluq.....	7	—
Joe Atlikuq.....	3	—

* Few sealskin model kayaks were made in 1948-49 when the Hudson's Bay Company was not buying these objects.

The following inventories of possessions give some idea of the Eskimo family's standard of living.

First, the property of Joe Atlikuq (Tent 9), a mature family head:

Kayak, containing eight sealskins in the body and four in the decking; the craft is seven years old

Double bladed paddle, four years old

.16 gauge shotgun, two years old

Tent, four strips of canvas, two years old, made by his wife

Stove, purchased, five years old

30/30 rifle about ten years old

Sled, one year old, made by himself

Twenty traps

Seven dogs, four large working animals valued at \$10 each and three small dogs worth half as much

Harpoon

Four dog traces made of the skin of a large square-flipper seal

Two axes

Also household equipment, bedding, alarm clock, and clothing

The property of another adult married man, Simeon Itušaq (Tent 2) follows:

Canoe, made by him in two weeks with canvas received in relief, three years old

Stove, made by him in about four days, two years old

Shotgun, sixteen years old

.22 rifle, four years old

Sled, made by him in one week, two years old

Eight traps

Fish net, made by him from twine received in relief, one year old

Three dogs and one pup, large ones valued at \$10 each

Tent, two years old, made by wife in four days' time

Two axes

Also household equipment, bedding, and clothing

Next, some of the property of a young married man, Charlie Tuktuq (Tent 14):

Kayak

Tent

Two stoves

Sled

Canoe

Dogs

Two .22 rifles

.16 gauge shotgun

.303 rifle

Thirty No. 1 traps

Five No. 2 traps

Also household equipment, bedding, and clothing

HOUSEHOLD AND FAMILY

With the exception of an indeterminate number of years following marriage, when a married son or daughter and the spouse continue to live with parents and unmarried siblings, the prevailing pattern is for the nuclear family to live independently of any other family group. However, as the list of households indicates, adopted children, an aged parent, or an unmarried sibling are frequently included in the household. We use the word "household" to mean the residential group occupying a single dwelling, and the word "family" to designate the group comprised of parents and children. Since marital residence does not permanently affiliate a family of procreation to a family of orientation, no extended families arise among the Eskimo. In the early years of marriage, residence is fluid, a couple often varying their domicile from one season to another, as the following list of cases indicates. During the period when husband and wife live with a family of orientation, the man contributes to the productive resources of the household and the woman helps with the daily domestic routines. The following cases illustrate marital residence and indicate some of the personal problems which it generates.

- CASE 1. A man spent two years living with his wife's father at Richmond Gulf. Meanwhile he worked for the Roman Catholic mission. In 1950 he brought his wife to his father's household.
- CASE 2. A man married a sister of the wife in Case One. He lived with his father-in-law for one winter and part of another. In 1950 he was staying with his brother.
- CASE 3. A man married another sister of the wives in Cases 1 and 2. He took up residence alongside his father-in-law's tent. In the autumn of 1950 it was decided that the couple would spend the winter with his father. The wife wept at the prospect of leaving her parents' camp.
- CASE 4. Following marriage a man moved into the house occupied by his wife's sister. In the autumn he joined his father.
- CASE 5. In the late summer of 1949 a man without living kin married and joined his wife's father, remaining there throughout the next winter.
- CASE 6. Carl Tuktuq (pseudonym) married Sarah Beame (pseudonym) in the late summer of 1949. He lived with his wife's father for most of the winter. Then trouble ensued. His mother wanted him to move in with her, but his father-in-law is said to have feared that Carl's mother and especially his sister, Marie, would be too aggressive and make life uncomfortable for Sarah. Carl did, however, visit these relatives twice during the winter. In the summer of 1950 Carl's wife left him for some time, going home. Eventually Carl joined her household. The missionary preached a sermon referring to this case. His talk held that a man could legitimately leave his parents to live with his wife.

As in all communities that are characterized only by division of labour on the bases of age and sex and exclude so-called true division of labour, the Eskimo family was once an almost independent source of wealth.

Today, still, the household retains a large degree of economic self-sufficiency or autonomy, particularly with respect to other households which make up the Eskimo subsection of the community. How could it be otherwise in winter when a few households are aggregated into camps, and no regular communication occurs between camps? In the winter camps, a family is expected to do all it can to provide its own necessities, though the emphasis on sharing to some degree relieves extreme economic independence. But the Eskimo population is not an isolated society. It is part of a larger community, Great Whale River, through which it connects with the outside society. In this larger society, families have lost much of their former economic autonomy. To the extent that the resources of the environment allow, the Eskimo have become specialist trappers, boot-makers, and manufacturers of handicrafts. Their goods are exported from the community in return for foodstuffs and hardware. Even if the Eskimo lost this ability to buy food, they would continue to be cared for, at least until new arrangements for their livelihood could be completed; for the society in which they live is affluent and has grown increasingly mindful of its duties to marginal people like the Eskimo. Perhaps one-third (a rough estimate; I could not obtain figures) of Inuit sustenance is derived from the larger society in the form of family allowances and relief, and for this portion they need offer nothing in return.

Returning to the Eskimo family, which in the larger social system has lost its former large degree of autonomy, the group remains an important area of emotional satisfaction and cultural continuity. Apart from friendships, neither men nor women belong to any associations; there are no club or geisha houses; not even mediated forms of communication like the radio and motion pictures, through which individuals could secure some share of emotional adjustment. Religious literature is read, but not often. Thus people turn to the family and other kin for emotional gratification, security, and growth-providing interpersonal stimulation. The missionary has on occasion provided classes in reading and writing, and occasionally young men have left Great Whale River to attend boarding school in Fort George. Such educational experiences, however, do little to deprive the family of its fundamental importance for the continuity of traditional Eskimo culture. To a large extent the family also trains people in those behaviours that only become part of Eskimo culture when the Inuit began to live alongside Indians and in a community dominated by Company and mission. That is, the family orients the individual for dealing with Indians; it transmits knowledge about fur values and how to deal with the manager; it also inculcates in the young, dogmas of Christianity. Of course, the individual also receives education in these things through his direct contacts with Indians, Company personnel, and the missionary.

The family is a stable unit, one rarely disturbed by divorce or separation, although quarrels between spouses do occur. In one case of temporary separation that we witnessed, between Carl Tuktuq and his wife Sarah, whom he had married the summer previously, the husband was strongly depressed. His remark, "My wife crazy, eh?" was less an expression of censure than an appeal for help and sympathy. My data on the point are limited, but they indicate that quarrels occur mostly in relatively young families. No doubt, as in many other places, family stability increases with the duration of the unit and production of children.

Interpersonal behaviour reveals no tendency of one sex to dominate the other in family relations. When my informant was manufacturing an ulu for his wife, he asked her advice frequently, and she gave it. Several days later he manufactured a similar knife, this time for sale, and again he solicited her opinion. A woman corrects her husband if she hears him uttering misinformation. Ideally a man is the "boss" of his house and also the person of greatest responsibility. After all, he supports the family through food-gathering and trapping. But he does not always possess manifestly greater power. Sex and age specialization do their bit to reinforce the solidarity of family and household, but the numerous duties carried out by *either* men or women contribute to the symmetry of sexual roles. Here is an illustrative list of men's duties provided by a young man: make fish nets (in distinction to the Indians, among whom women do this task) and set them; hunt seal; hunt game birds; hunt white whales; prepare the framework for the kayak; cover canoes with new canvas and paint; angle from the kayak; go into the bush with sleds in winter in order to fetch wood, and drive dogs. Men also repair household goods; for example, they clean rust from an ulu (which they also manufacture), and we once saw a man putting up the pole for a washline. Men also publicly butcher whales and other large game. The same informant gave the following list of women's duties: sew boots and other garments; wash clothes; chew boots to make them soft; chew sealskin to soften it for sewing into boots; split wood; cook; fetch drinking water or in winter collect snow for drinking water; sew tents; angle from the shore for river fish; care for children; cover the kayak with sealskin; collect seaweed, and butcher small game animals in the house. The informant did not mention that women gather berries, brush for fires, and moss for babies. Many of these feminine tasks must be done by a man who is travelling alone or in an all-masculine party. He may even remain at home and care for children while his wife is off with other women gathering berries or fuel. Both sexes set traps, though the man goes farther afield and has the greater responsibility for this important economic activity. It is said that either sex arises first in the morning and makes the fire. Husbands and wives co-operatively move camp and erect tents, and both sexes bring basins from home to the scene of public butchering to carry off the household's share of meat.

A man owns the house (tent) in which the family lives, even though it is his wife who sews the canvas that the husband brought from the store. The husband owns the dogs, one of the principal forms of capital goods. Economically, as already pointed out, a wife contributes to family income by making boots and dolls. She assists in the preparation of model sealskin kayaks. Nobody then should be surprised to learn that industriousness is highly evaluated in a woman. But a wife is more than an economic partner. Husband and wife are mutual sources of emotional gratification. This we readily observed in a young married couple. It was betrayed in the fond smiles exchanged between Carl Tuktuq and his wife when he entered the tent. We saw it when another youth teased his wife by unexpectedly banging an oil drum while her head rested against it, and in the way a mature man's wife attentively arranged the tent entry and his bedding while he was incapacitated. Once we saw Carl Tuktuq at home lie down on the sleeping place next to Sarah. The two conversed softly while he gently pulled wisps of hair from her eyes. They gave the impression of considerable

affection. (This was a few weeks after she had returned to him following their short separation.) Mature married men spend little time in all-male cliques compared to the Attawapiskat Cree Indians or a Pakistan village folk. Again, etiquette between husband and wife does not always express respect through symbols with which we are familiar. A man does not hold open the church door for a woman; he does not wait for her when the family starts out to church, nor does he walk at her side. When Carl Tuktuq arrived in the post after several days' absence and saw his wife for the first time, he continued to discharge his duties on the boat and made no move to meet Sarah face-to-face or to greet her, yet they had been married only three weeks before. Occasionally a man will help his wife fetch water or split wood, but strong normative values do not demand this behaviour. There seems to be an acknowledged place for the man to sit in the tent—in the centre of the sleeping platform, his wife to his right or left—but I doubt if this is directly expressive of respect.

Very warm, co-operative relations usually characterize relations between several women belonging to a single household. In addition, women from adjacent households, particularly kinswomen, visit each other frequently, and so sociable parties ensue while men are away at work.

Eskimo parent-child relations are only inconspicuously marked by discipline. With the onset of economic maturity, when a son can earn money through independent trapping, and a girl begins to carry out many of the duties of a woman, even though she is not yet married, parents' relationship with children becomes predominantly symmetrical. At the same time, a daughter of 15 or 16 occasionally still solicits her mother's aid in sewing and accepts directions which the older woman offers in the conduct of household affairs.

A number of young household members hold the status of adopted children. Several factors seem to motivate a family to adopt children. In the case of an orphan, there is the obvious necessity of caring for youngsters who have no other source of support. But in addition to fulfilling a need, adoption introduces another pair of young working hands into a household. In modern times it adds to the household's regular food supply through increasing family allowances. Such advantages lead a man with a large number of children to allow a friend or kinsman to adopt one of the girls, if only temporarily. Thus Charlie Komarluq adopted Caroline, one of the daughters of Sam Crow, in 1950, when she was 15 years old. One dispute over adoption came to my attention. Joseph Akporuq had adopted Emily Tukaj, the daughter of Joseph's wife's deceased sister. When Emily's father, Charlie Iarkumiaq, married again, he demanded that the child be returned, but the foster parents refused to give her up. The matter was brought before the policeman during his 1949-50 winter visit. He is reported to have decided that it would be best if matters stood as they were. Kin terms are not readily extended to adopted children in the household. Thus one sixteen-year-old girl calls the adopted girl in her home "my companion."

The custom whereby family names are patrilineally inherited, a Christian surname being given at baptism, has not entirely obliterated distinctive Eskimo names (or nicknames, they might be called). These, individuals retain for life (cf., Birket-Smith, 1924: 414). Often the Eskimo name recalls some deceased relative whose memory is thereby perpetuated

in the child (Honigmann and Honigmann, 1953: 34). The following are some Eskimo names, and the individuals who bear them:

George Itušaq	Witalitok
Charlie Tukulug	Urayaluq
Isaac Tukulug	Novalingaq
Sara Tukulug	Nutayaluq
Isaac Apik	Novalingaq
Jobie Tukulug	Inuka
Jacob Tumiq	Kaneru
Simeon Tukulug	Awyaia
Clara Fleming	Iaktayak
Clara's illegitimate baby	Nutayapik
Richard Fleming	Ningiu
Richard's wife	Kapuq
Sam Crow	Komarluq
Jobie Crow	Inuka (This was the name of Sam's wife's father.)
Mina Crow	Mikiya
Charlie Crow	Urayaluq
Mary (Si of Caroline Angotikaluq)	Iliyita

KINDRED AND KINSHIP

An Eskimo individual proceeds through childhood with equal opportunity to become familiar with kin on both sides of his family, his mother's and his father's. (An exception occurs in a family that has migrated to Great Whale River but has no kin in the community, like Joe Atlikuq's family.) Paternal or maternal kin are found in the winter camp, though not necessarily the same individuals from one season to another. The absence of unilinear kin groups (lineages or sibs) also encourages the individual to identify equally both sides of his descent line. There is nothing which demands stronger allegiance to the father's or mother's side. The fluidity of residence rules means that youngsters spend time with both father's kin and mother's kin, a practice which fosters bilateral identification between kinsmen. Bilateral descent therefore prevails. Is there a kindred in the social organization of the Great Whale River Eskimo? I observed groups carefully in order to answer this question. My conclusion is that kinship very definitely provides a basis for co-operation between Eskimos and that co-operating kin derive from both lines of an individual's descent as well as from kin affiliations by marriage. Bilateral ties of kinship govern the distribution of tents and households. Households whose members are related are often found camping near one another and form the nuclei of winter and spring camps. However, I learned of no generic word for the kindred, nor is such a group endowed with formal responsibilities. The kindred is as vaguely defined among Great Whale River Eskimo as it is among people in the urban United States. Among us an individual recognizes that he has roles with reference to a limited

number of maternal and paternal relatives. These roles include responsibility for informing them of certain major events of the life cycle, inviting them to visit and visiting them in turn. But the group present at a wedding reception is likely to include a large complement of congenial friends as well as a core of maternal and paternal relatives, the kindred. And so it is at Great Whale River. The Eskimo recognizes bilateral kinship and from his bilateral kin selects some with whom he is closer than with others. They are found in the winter camp and exchange visits more frequently. But at marriage or in the visiting group one may find almost everybody from the Eskimo section of the community which, remember, is not large. The small size of the Eskimo population and the cross-cutting of kinship ties perhaps discourage the appearance of clearly defined individual kindreds.

Partly because of my unfamiliarity with the language and the lack of an interpreter willing or free to work with me, I experienced great difficulty in securing a satisfactory, noncontradictory series of Eskimo kin terms. The terms I could best verify are presented below, together with some of the relatives to which each refers. Mostly I verified information secured through informants by means of the genealogical method. However, my limited control of the Eskimo language landed me into trouble when I tried to inquire in too great detail with that method.

ata'siaya	Fa Fa, Mo Fa
ana'ntsiaya	Fa Mo, Mo Mo
annana'ya	Mo
atata'ya	Fa
iatni'ya	So
pani'ya	Da (vocative, pa' ni)
iyota'ya	So So, So Da, Da So, Da Da
aka'ya	Fa Br
atsa'ya	Fa Si
anga?u'ya	Mo Br
ajya?u'ya	Mo Si
ka'tangoti'ya	Fa Br So (m.s.), Fa Br Da (w.s.), Fa Si So (m.s.), Fa Si Da (w.s.), Mo Br So (m.s.), Mo Br Da (w.s.), Mo Si So (m.s.), Mo Si Da (w.s.)
nayatsa?u'ya	Fa Br Da (m.s.), Fa Si Da (m.s.), Mo Br Da (m.s.), Mo Si Da (m.s.)
anitsa?u'ya	Fa Br So (w.s.), Fa Si So (w.s.), Mo Br So (w.s.), Mo Si So (w.s.)
kangia'ya	Br So (m.s.), Br Da (m.s.)
anga'ya	Br So (w.s.), Br Da (w.s.)
uya?u'ya	Si So (m.s.), Si Da (m.s.)
nua(ya)luaya	Si So (w.s.), Si Da (w.s.)

Terms for mother, father, son, and daughter are not extended to other relatives. Terms for parents' siblings (Fa Br, Fa Si, Mo Br, and Mo Si) in like manner are not applied to the spouses of these relatives. Three cousin terms operate in this way: one term (katangoti'ya) designates all cross and parallel cousins of the same sex as ego; it can be defined as "cousin of the same sex." The second term, used only by males, designates any cross or parallel cousin of opposite sex. The third term, used only by females, designates any cross or parallel cousin of the same sex. Although cross and parallel cousins are called by the same terms, they are differentiated from siblings. The presence of such cousin terms is one of the characteristic marks of a type of social organization that has received the name "Eskimo." The absence of exogamous unilinear kin groups and the presence of kindreds and of independent nuclear families are further distinctive features of Eskimo-type social organization, a basic type of organization that is also found in Euro-American culture. Lineal terms for aunts and nieces do not appear at Great Whale River, although they are often found in conjunction with Eskimo-type social organization. What I mean is that among Great Whale River Eskimo, Mo Si is not terminologically equivalent to Fa Si nor Fa Br to Mo Br; neither is Br Da terminologically identified with Si Da or Br So with Si So. Terms for these relatives are bifurcate collateral rather than lineal in type. Mo, Mo Si, and Fa Si are each represented by a distinct term as also are Fa, Fa Br, and Mo Br. Furthermore Da, Br Da, and Si Da are terminologically differentiated in the same way as So, Br So, and Si So. Murdock, in his book *Social Structure*, suggests that bifurcate collateral terms for these relatives in an otherwise Eskimo-type social organization may reflect former polygyny and patrilocal residence. The basis of his reasoning is the empirically verified correlation of bifurcate collateral kinship terminology, on the one hand, with nonsororal polygyny and patrilocal or matripatrilocal residence, on the other hand.¹

The terms for spouse's siblings and siblings' spouses are as follows:

<i>Man Speaking</i>		<i>Woman Speaking</i>	
ajya?u'ya	Br Wi, Wi Si	ajya?u'ya	Si Hu, Hu Br
ninaw'ya	Si Hu ²	okwa'ya	Br Wi ³
sakia'ya	Wi Br	sakia'ya	Hu Si

A single term, saki'ya, refers to the husband's and wife's parents.

Paul Cookie (Tent 10) is related by marriage to Daniel Angotikalug (Tent 13) in two ways. He is married to Daniel's sister, Sarah, and his own sister, Doris, is married to Daniel. Hence he could refer to Daniel either as "sister's husband" or "wife's brother." Under such circumstances the former term is preferred. In other words, the affinal connection is traced through a married sibling rather than through a spouse.

Eskimos do not much use kinship terms in terms of address. I have heard such terms in use between parents and children, but I also heard

¹ The resident missionary at Great Whale River reported matripatrilocal residence to occur on Baffin Island.

² Extended to Da Hu by both sexes.

³ Extended to So Wi by both sexes.

mothers call children by given names, just as siblings address or refer to each other in this way. Husbands and wives use given Christian names in preference to "man" or "woman," which are appropriate kin terms. My information on kin behaviour involving persons other than those found in the nuclear family is not abundant. The following notes, however, may be found useful. I have seen parallel cousins of opposite sex speak together without shyness, but this is hardly surprising since intersexual ambivalence is not characteristic of the Eskimo. Grandparents are fond of grandchildren but scarcely exceed the affection shown by parents. A father-in-law praised his son-in-law, and I saw the same older man help his son-in-law when the latter returned from hunting. I observed many instances of co-operation between women and their brothers' wives and between women married to two brothers.

IV. NOTES ON INDIAN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

My work with the Indians of Great Whale River was less sustained than with the Eskimo. I had gone north primarily to gain understanding of Eskimo culture through first-hand contact. Therefore, to work with Indians I only utilized time when Eskimo informants were unavailable.

The following census of tent populations refers mainly to the winter of 1948-49 and the summer of 1949. In each case I have tried to list the *maximum* group found together, whether it was winter or summer. This has resulted in a certain inconsistency in presenting the information by seasons. The basic data were collected by Nathan Altshuler in the summer of 1949. Ages, of course, are apt to be several years in error, especially in the case of adults.

The information indicates that patriliney is not a dominant feature of the winter households. I see the same picture of informal social organization that Eleanor Leacock (1955) does, and her principle of bilateral winter partnerships is congruent with our data. It would be worth re-studying the Great Whale River Indians at present to see whether the institution of Government beaver preserves in their territory was followed by an emergence of patrilineal bands (cf., Dunning, 1959). If, as is likely, beaver preserves are added to only a part of the Indians' area of exploitation, then an in-built control is available for estimating how significant the economic change may have been with respect to social organization. Richard Nonas recently suggested to me that it might be wiser to learn the principle by which people choose to live together rather than to deduce a principle from the objective groupings, as Leacock and I have tried to do. With Nonas' point I am in full agreement.

HOUSEHOLD A (Summer)

Ann Nataatšiikwan (née Mastii*), Mo, 57, a widow

Albert, So 34, widowed; his Fa, Mo, Br, Sos live in Household I

Phillip, So 32

Agnes (née Šašamuš) Wi of Phillip, 27

Peter, 6, Phillip's son by a previous marriage

Mary, 2, Da of Phillip and Agnes

David, 4, illegitimate son of Agnes (Matthew George reputed to be Fa)

Jonas, So, 29

Annie (née Mastii), Wi of Jonas, 19

John, So 27

Andrew, So 26

Matthew, So 14

Caroline Šašamuš (née Mastii), widowed mother of Agnes, 39 [?]

In the winter of 1948-49 this household lived in two tents. Phillip, his Wi, Da (Mary), Wi So (David), and Wi Mo occupied one tent. The rest of

* Mastii is a contraction of Mastiiyopiimiikoa; the contraction is in common use.

the group, including Phillip's So, Peter, occupied the other tent. In the summer of 1950 only the second group (minus little Peter) shared a tent; Phillip was not in the post at the time I made a tent census in June 1950.

HOUSEHOLD B (*Summer and Winter*)

John Mamiamiskam, Hu, 63, Br of Ann, the old woman in Household E

Maggy (née David), Wi, 63

Adam, So of a deceased So, 20

Martha (née Karš), Wi of Adam, 18

Maggy, Da, 15

Abraham, So, 12

Luke Karš, Fa of Martha and of Jean Mamiamiskam in Household D

Lucy (née Šem), Wi, 42

Sophie, Da, 9

Paul, So, 4

Lottie, Da, 1

HOUSEHOLD C (*Winter*)

Sam Mastii, Fa, 55, widower

Isaac, So, 32

Phyllis (née Dick), Wi of Isaac, 18

Isaiah, So of Isaac by previous marriage, 8

Samson, So, 30

Ann (née Šašamuš), Wi of Samson, 20

John, So, 7

Maria, Da, 24

Joseph Šašamuš, Hu of Maria, 26

Margaret, Da, 10

Lucy, Da, 3

Mary, Da, 21

In the summer of 1949 this household no longer contained the following members: Maria and Joseph Šašamuš, their two children; Samson and Ann, but the latter's son, John, remained. Coming into the household were the following:

Thomas Sandy, 50

Agnes (née Dick), Thomas's Wi, 55, the Fa Si of Phyllis

HOUSEHOLD D (*Summer, two tents*)

John Koapitš, Hu, 45

Susan (née Mastii), Wi, 42; Mo and three Brs live in Household H

Andrew, So, 18

James, So, 14

Susan, Da, 10

Wimas, So, 7

Isaiah, So, 4

Agnes, Da, 1

Noah Mamiamiskam, Hu; So of John Koapitš' Si, Patsy, 27

Jean (née Karš), Wi, 19. Her parents live in Household B

The following occupied the other of two adjoining tents:

Jacob Rupert, Hu, 49

Maria (née Piiminak) Wi, 47

Job, So, 25

Lucy (née Koapitš), Da of John Koapitš and Wi of Job, 21

Mina, Da of Job and Lucy, 2

Steven, So, 14

Maria, Da, 8

Amy, adopted Da, 8

During the winter of 1948-49 this group was divided between two separated tents. In one of these tents lived John Koapitš and his family, excluding Lucy who lived with Jacob Rupert and his family, together with Noah and Jean in another tent.

HOUSEHOLD E (*Summer and winter*)

Ann George (née Mamiamiskam), Mo, 70; Si of John Mamiamiskam (Household B)

Thomas, So, 36

Maggy (née Patakamiskam), Wi, 26

John, So, 11

Eliza, Da, 7

Louisa, Da, 2

George, orphaned So of Thomas's Br, 23; Br of Ann below

Ann, orphaned Da of Thomas's Br, 19; Si of George; another sibling.

Joady, is married to Mary Koapitš and lived with his Wi Fa during the winter of 1948-49

HOUSEHOLD F (*Summer and winter*)

Rupert George, Hu, 53

Maggy (née Mamiamiskam), Wi, 54

Moses, So, 19

Charlotte, deceased So's Da, 10; her mother, Naomi (née Šašamuš), is in Fort George Hospital

HOUSEHOLD G (*Winter*)

James Mamiamiskam, Hu, 50

Maggy (née Šem), Wi, 45

Mina, Da, 25

Matthew George, Hu of Mina, 35

Sophie, Da, 3

Emma, Da, 6 mos.

Weymas, So, 17

In the summer of 1949 Matthew and Mina and their children took up residence in a separate tent. The parents lived in a different tent with Weymas and in a camp with Thomas Sandy (*see* Household I).

HOUSEHOLD H (*Winter*)

Anna Mastii (née Nataatšiikwan), Mo; a Da, Susan Koapitš, lives in Household D

Joseph, So, 32

Elizabeth (née Ranoapiimiiko), Wi of Joseph, 30

Susan, Da, 11

Martha, Da, 5

David, So, 1 mo.

George, So, 26

Jane (née Patakamiskam), Wi of George, 25

Abraham, So, 2

Sandy, So, 24, a widower

In the summer of 1949 George and Jane Mastii moved into a separate tent with their son. The rest of the household remained together. In the summer of 1950, the Wi was in Richmond Gulf, the Hu in Great Whale River. The household now also included Elijah and Moses Koapitš, the latter's Wi, George Nakanakaopo and his Wi, and Joady George and his Wi, whose Mo was a Nakanakaopo (see Household M).

HOUSEHOLD I (*Winter*)

Thomas Sandy, Hu, 50; his Fa Si So Sos live in Household A

Agnes (née Dick), Wi, 55

Jimmy Sandy, Hu, 51; he is a Br of Thomas

Mary (née Mamiamiskam), Wi, 40

Lottie, Da, 25

John Patakamiskam, Hu of Lottie, 30

Elijah, So, 3

Andrew, So, 13

Jean, Da, 9

Lot, So, 6

In the summer of 1949 Thomas and Agnes went to live with Sam Mastii (Household C) while Lottie and John Patakamiskam also moved out of the household.

HOUSEHOLD J (*Summer*)

Joseph Sandy, Hu, 45

Maggy (née Piimiinakawapowak), Wi, 41

Susan, Da, 25

Stephen Šašamuš, Hu of Susan, 30

Noah, So, 6

Mary, Da, 1

Moses, So, 14

David, So, 7

Elizabeth Košanabaw, 60, relationship unknown

During the winter Joseph Sandy and Mary Šašamuš had separate tents. Stephen and his wife lived patrilocally with their children and his Mo. Elizabeth Košanabaw lived with neither group.

HOUSEHOLD K (*Summer*)

Daniel Patakamiskam, Hu, 48

Mary (née Rupert), Wi, 46

Jane, Da, 25

George Mastii, Hu of Jane, 26

Abraham, So, 2

Ann, Da, 21

Thomas Šem, Hu of Ann, 20

Susan, Da, 19

Joseph, So, 14

Eliza, Da, 11

Samson, So, 6

David Šem, Hu, 57; he and his wife are the parents of Thomas above

Mary (née Karš), Wi, 50

Annie, Da, 22

Susan, Da, 16

Samson, So, 12

Sandy, So, 7

The winter household was essentially the same; only Jane and George Mastii were absent with their So, living with Joseph Mastii (*see* Household H). In the winter of 1950 George Mastii was a patient at the Moose Factory Hospital. His wife lived in the household of Thomas George Household E.

HOUSEHOLD L (*Summer*)

Jacob Dick, Hu, 44; a Da, Amy, lives in Household M

Maggy (née Jones), Wi, 40

Sophie, Da, 8

Betsy, Da, 5

Clifford, So, 2

Eliza, Da of Maggy by a previous husband (a Karš), 16

Francis, So of Maggy by a previous husband (a Karš), 14

Nancy Koatok (née Dick), 40 a widow and the Si of Jacob

The only difference during the winter was the absence of Nancy who lived with Charles Nakanakaopo (*see* Household M)

HOUSEHOLD M (*Summer*)

Jean Wastapino, Mo (very old)

Moses, So, 43

Jenny (also Sally, née Nakanakaopo), Wi, 40

Mary, Da, 19

Joady George, Hu of Mary, 21

Elijah, So, 21

William, So, 14

Ann, Da, 8

Job, So, 4

George, So, 1

Charles Nakanakaopo, Br of Jenny, 32

Amy (née Dick), Wi of Charles, 19; her Fa, Jacob, lives in Household L

In the winter of 1948-49 Charles and Amy did not live with the other members of the household. Otherwise the group was the same.

HOUSEHOLD N (*Summer and winter*)

Lottie (née Rupert), Mo, 57

Martha, Da, 36

Andrew Dick, Hu of Martha, 38

Christina, Da, 5

Lola, Da, 2 mos.

Paul, So of Andrew by a previous marriage, 15

Louise, Da of Andrew by a previous marriage, 19

Lizzy, 8; she like her Si, Julia, is an orphan, the Da of Martha's Br

Julia, 5, Si of Lizzy

HOUSEHOLD O (*Winter*)

Sam Mastii, Fa, 55 (he is the chief)

Isaac, So, 32

Phyllis Dick, Wi, 18

Isaiah, So of Isaac by a previous marriage, 8

Mary, Da, 17

Maria, Da, 24

Joseph Šašamuš, Hu of Maria, 26

Lucy, Da, 3

Margaret, Da, 3

John, So Wi So, 7 (his mother, Ann Šašamuš, is married to Samson Mastii; see Household Q)

Thomas Sandy, 50

Agnes (née Dick), Wi, 55; she is Phyllis's Fa Si

In the summer of 1949 Maria and her Hu, Joseph, dropped out of the household; although my notes do not indicate so, presumably they also withdrew their children and John.

HOUSEHOLD P (*Summer*)

David Mukaš, Hu, 32

Nelly (née Dick), Wi, 25; she is the Da of Charlie Dick in this household

Phillip, Br of David, 31

John, Br of David, 30

Maggie (née George), Wi, 31

Juliet, Da, 6

Ann, Da, 4

Jacob, So, 6 mos.

Charlie Dick, 58, Fa of Nelly

Sarah Koapitš, 13, relationship unknown

In the winter David and Phillip camped together with Sarah; John and his wife lived with their children, and Charlie lived "near" Sam Mastii (Household O).

HOUSEHOLD Q (*Summer*)

Mary (née Mamiamiskam) Šašamuš, Mo, 65**

Ronny, So, 28

Emily (née Koaitok), Wi, 24

Elijah, So, 2

Joseph, So, 26

Maria (née Mastii) Wi, 24

Louise, Da, 3

Margaret, Da, 6 mos.

Edna, Da, 35

Sam Arithnaypiimiiko, Hu of Edna, 40

Jimmy, So of Sam by a previous marriage, 21

Ann, Da, 20

Samson Mastii, Hu of Ann, 30

In the winter Ronny and his wife and son lived together; Edna and Sam and Jimmy lived together; Mary Šašamuš lived with her son, Steven, 34, together with Steven's Wi, Susan, 25, and their two children, Noah, 7, and Mary, 1; the disposition of the other members of this household is not known.

According to this information, members of a household are kin, though the kinship links sometimes tend to be quite distant. Both brothers and daughters live with parental families, at least for some years after marriage. The married couple shift their residence from one season to another. Spouses' siblings are found in a household. Summer households are sometimes larger than winter households, a fact which may be related to ecological factors—for one, there is no need of heat—as well as to the meaning of summer. Summer is a time of visiting and social renewal when food is also abundantly available from the store. The primary ecological factor operating in winter is the necessity of people to disperse for optimal trapping. The country of the Indians is not parcelled out into individual trapping-area allotments, though men do tend to operate in the same general territory from one year to the next. Ownership of a trap-line vests in the man as long as he uses it. A similar rule operates with respect to a beaver house; the finder has prior right to take its tenants. Quarrels over access to such resources are avoided, and there is no evidence that men feel pressure on the land or on its resources. Women trap only in the vicinity of the house, using traps given to them by their husbands. The fur is given to the man to sell, and the earnings are pooled in the general income of the family. Boys begin to set traps at about the age of 12, the traps being given to them by their fathers. The income is their own to dispose of as they wish.

**My notes contain a contradiction. I have Mary Sasamus also living in summer Household J, i.e., with her son's Wi So Wi's parents. For part of the summer she may have done so.

The total fur catch for 1945-46 of the Great Whale River Indians, as reported by the Indian Agent in 1949, follows:

Beaver	102	Lynx	1
Ermine	302	Marten	5
Silver fox	63	Mink	88
Cross fox	358	Muskrat	243
Red fox	1,222	Otter	36
White fox	320	Squirrel	1,034
Blue fox	3		

The Indian is much more favourably supplied with resources than the Eskimo, yet some Indians receive relief: the aged, the orphans, and persons who are ill for a prolonged time. In 1948-49 the total issue of relief to the Great Whale River Indians, according to the Indian Agent, amounted to \$4,500.

We catch a glimpse of what is earned and how money is spent by examining the Company store credit and sales slips of one man, Sandy Mastii (1950):

FUR SALES

January

4 beaver	\$ 54.00
4 mink	65.00
6 otter	63.00
11 ermine	8.50

n.d.

1 mink	15.00
1 otter	21.00
2 rats	7.00

March

3 mink	55.00
10 ermine	7.00

June

1 beaver	8.00
4 otter	60.00
7 ?	94.00
TOTAL	\$457.50

PURCHASES

January

Grub	\$ 3.40
10 [lb.] tea	11.00
$\frac{3}{4}$ flour	8.25
10 [lb.] fat	3.50
Currants	1.20
Tobacco	3.60
Pants	14.75
Hooks	1.50
Soap	1.00
Cod line	1.75
2 [yd.?] duck	1.50
Boots	2.40
10 boxes 22s	7.50
Lard	4.00
2 b[aking] p[owder]. .	.90
Tobacco	5.25
1 chisel	2.15
1 ?	1.25
Files	.75
Scissors	2.50
Pipe	2.50
Twist [tobacco]	3.00
Watch	3.10
Coal oil	1.00
2 oats	1.70
Sausage	.45
Cynt [?]	.30
Fork	.75
Cash [taken]	1.00

The variety of goods Sandy bought contrasts with the relatively simple assortment of Eskimo purchases. Here are some summer purchases of Sam Mastii (1949) from five sales slips:

<i>July</i>		2 lard	.80
15 [lb.] flour	\$ 1.50	2 soap	.35
½ [lb.] tea	.60	<i>August</i>	
2 tobacco	.60	10 b[oxe]s 22[s]	5.00 ¹
3 lard	1.05	Matches	2.00
5 [lb.] sugar	.90	No. 3 [shot ?]	1.25
Currants	.30	Sugar	3.60
<i>July</i>		Tobacco	1.50
1 matches	.20	Shirt	2.25
1 lard	.35	1 braid	.90
1 baking powder	.50	3 [yd. ?] drill	2.40
<i>August</i>		Flann[el]ette	1.60
Screws [and] tacks ..	.25	1 bx. 30-30	2.50
Flour	.50	File	.95
Lard	.40	7 [lb.] tea	7.70
Sugar	.50	Tobacco	4.00
Tobacco	.30	Tobacco	8.00
Baking powder	.25	Soap	1.00
<i>August</i>		1 handkerchief	1.60
10 [lb.] flour	1.00	1 butter	1.20
Tobacco	.30	Braid	.50

Although I collected animal-kill and store-food consumption figures from the Indians, these figures seem to be quite unreliable, especially for country food. The reported consumption of store products for five families during the previous nine months is reported in Table VI with rarely purchased items like jam, potatoes, raisins, tinned meat, and condensed milk omitted.²

LEADERSHIP

The Indians follow the usual custom among Canadian Indians of electing a chief at the request of the local Indian agent. For Great Whale River and Richmond Gulf the chief is Sam Mastii, a Richmond Gulf Indian. Ideally, only a "good man" will be elected chief. The term "good" denotes a man who is familiar with the Bible and quotes from the Book. He is a moral leader and also a person noted for his generosity. He will give flour, tea, and baking powder to people who are in need, even purchasing these things out of his own pocket. Some people in the community did not esteem Sam. John Koapitš is the assistant Indian Chief. The assertion that the chief helps indigent Indians may refer in part to his authority to recommend relief to the Indian Agent in Moose Factory.

¹ On this day he apparently selected his winter outfit, perhaps on credit to be repaid with fur earnings.

² For the method in which this information was collected see p. 39.

For this purpose he utilizes radio facilities maintained and operated by the Hudson's Bay Company.

TABLE VI

Food Products Bought by Five Indian Families, Winter 1948-49

Items (lb.)	FAMILY*				
	1	2	3	4	5
Flour.....	—	73	150	150	24
Sugar.....	10	15	30	35	60
Rolled oats.....	7	6	18	20	19
Lard.....	10	8	30	40	70
Powdered milk.....	2	—	6	—	—
Tea.....	10	4	8	15	20
Coffee.....	1	—	5	3	2
Baking powder.....	1	3	5	4	1

* The family heads reporting are (1) Samson Mastii; (2) Thomas George and George George (reporting jointly); (3) Joseph Sasamus; (4) Steven Sasamus, and (5) David Mukas.

Indian informants also acknowledge especially highly esteemed men in that ethnic group, including the catechist, James Mamiamiskam, and Charlie Dick. Certain men were acknowledged to be especially wise, including the Chief, Charlie Dick, John Koapitš, Sam Mastii, Joseph Sandy, and Joseph Mastii. In general, I had the feeling that the Indians were somewhat more conscious of prestige differences than the Eskimo, and I saw this consciousness expressed in the relatively obsequious behaviour of youths toward a wealthy young man, Phillip Mukaš, and toward the Company manager.

FAMILY AND SEX ROLES

One informant gave the following account of how activities are divided: the man traps; hunts ptarmigan, porcupine, and other game; sets nets and also angles for fish; constructs snowshoes, toboggans, and other implements; and, if he is short of work dogs, pulls the toboggan on a march. His son performs many of these tasks in addition to getting water, splitting wood, fetching brush, and setting rabbit snares. A woman washes clothes, visits fish nets and hooks set in the water, gets wood and splits it, fetches water, gathers brush for the tent floor, sets rabbit snares, and helps her husband pull the toboggan. She rises first and customarily makes the fire in the morning. A girl helps her mother to wash clothes, to cook, sew, visit fish nets, and fetch wood and water, and, like her brother, she pulls a lightly loaded toboggan. She may be the first to get up in cold weather and make the indispensable fire. In the winter of 1948-49 Indian women wintering in the post reportedly even cut wood for the Hudson's Bay Company, a job usually carried out by Eskimo men in summer. The Eskimo rafted in the wood during the months of our visit.

Indian men strive to make themselves inconspicuous when urinating in the daytime in treeless country where there is not even tall bush behind

which to hide. Sometimes a man kneels to urinate, the knees touching the ground (not as in Pakistan, where men squat with knees above the ground). Often men find a dip and lie themselves down flat on the side in order to obtain suitable privacy.

Indian women do not reveal the value of cleanliness that Eskimo do. Their clothes and the clothing of their children, by our standards, are often filthy. One young man told us that the Indian never washes his body (as he saw me doing in bathing trunks at the pond) but only hands and face.

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Indians make much use of kin terms. Even when men are playing ball, we heard the frenzied "nistaw, nistaw!" as somebody tries to attract attention. During our second visit, boys came to address me as "nimošoom," grandfather, though (with greater formality, perhaps?) I have also been addressed by the very popular title "nistaw."

Common terms follow ("my" is included in each of the Montagnais-Naskapi words). Relatives older than ego are marked by an asterisk; if younger, the younger sibling term is used.

ni'mošoom	Fa Fa, Mo Fa
noo'kum	Fa Mo, Mo Mo
no'tawwii	Fa
ni'kawwii	Mo
no'koomis	Fa Br, Mo Si Hu
ni'siikus	Fa Si, Mo Br Wi
nis	Mo Br, Fa Si Hu
ni'toš	Mo Si, Fa Br Wi
nista's	e Br, Fa Br So*, Mo Si So*, Hu Si Hu (w.s.)*, Wi Si Hu (m.s.)*
ni'šiiim	y Br, y Si, Fa Br Da, Fa Br So, Mo Si So, Mo Si Da, Hu Br Wi (w.s.), Wi Si Hu (m.s.), Wi Br Wi (m.s.), Hu Si Hu (w.s.)
nimi'š	e Si, Fa Br Da*, Mo Si Da*, Hu Br Wi (w.s.)*, Wi Br Wi (m.s.)*
ni'staw	Fa Si So (m.s.), Fa Si Da (w.s.), Mo Br So (m.s.), Mo Br Da (w.s.), Br Wi (w.s.), Si Hu (m.s.), Hu Si (w.s.), Wi Br (m.s.)
nii'tawmuš	Fa Si So (w.s.), Fa Si Da (m.s.), Mo Br So (w.s.), Mo Br Da (m.s.), Br Wi (m.s.), Si Hu (w.s.), Hu Br (w.s.), Wi Si (m.s.)
ni'koš	So
ni'taniš	Da

*Indicates that the designated relative is older than ego.

ntoo'šim	Br So (m.s.), Si So (w.s.), Wi Si So (m.s.), Hu Br So (w.s.)
na'hatšim	Br So (w.s.), Si So (m.s.), Wi Br So (m.s.), Hu Si So (w.s.)
nto'šimiškwa	Br Da (m.s.) Si Da (w.s.), Wi Si Da (m.s.), Hu Br Da (w.s.)
nahakaniškwa	Br Da (w.s.), Si Da (m.s.), Wi Br Da (m.s.), Hu Si Da (w.s.)
no'šimis	So So, Da So, So Da, Da Da
new	Wi
n?apa'n	Hu

Fundamentally, this is a kin-term system of the same type found among Cree-speaking groups, like the Attawapiskat (Honigmann, 1953). Parallel cousins are terminologically equivalent to siblings, but cross cousins are differentiated, suggesting that cross-cousin marriages may have occurred prior to the arrival of Christianity. There are two sets of cross-cousin terms:

Cross cousin of the same sex, ni'staw; the term also applied to siblings-in-law of the same sex, is replete with obvious warmth and affection, especially when used between men.

Cross cousin of opposite sex, nii'tawmuš, is also applied to such potentially marriageable persons as a Wi Si and to other siblings-in-law of opposite sex.

Taking the kinship organization as a whole, it fits the normal Yuman type in possessing features like bilateral descent; Iroquois cousin terms; absence of clans, demes, or sib groups, and bifurcate collateral aunt and uncle terms. Murdock, in his book *Social Structure*, on the basis of Speck's data from the Naskapi Indians, lists patrilocal residence in marriage (with a tendency to bilocalism) for the Naskapi. Such a pattern would be given as the ideal by many contemporary Great Whale River Indians, though temporary bilocal residence actually fits the facts. The Yuman system is said to be adapted to bilateral communities undergoing transition to a unilinear form.

V. RECREATION

The community lacks a large repertory of recreational activities. What recreation there is tends to be active rather than passive, although a few gramophones among Indians invite mainly passive listening. On occasion, people (especially Indian girls) act as spectators when other people play ball and older people watch younger folks dance, but these are minor notes in the pattern of active involvement in recreational activities.

ESKIMO RECREATION

The outstanding summertime recreational pattern of the Eskimo is "keep-away," the ball game participated in by both sexes at almost all age levels. This has been referred to previously, and I shall not discuss it further. No other ball game was observed, although in the Belcher Islands, one man said that a game like shinny is played on the ice in winter. From ten to twenty men divide into two teams. These try to reach one another's goals. The ball is hit with a sealskin thong. Occasionally women join in the game which is called aruqta'tuq (he or she plays shinny). The thong is called aruqtaw'tiq and the ball aruq'taq.

Apart from the ball game, few other games of skill came to our attention. Card games are popular, but because "nobody" owns a deck of cards, they are rarely played. In our house, girls joined with young men to play 500-rummy. Checkers are also played, but I doubt whether any Eskimo owns a set. Contests of strength occasionally occur. For example, two men sit facing one another and then pull against each other while holding on to a wooden boot-softening stick. On one occasion I observed a woman playing a game in which she rapidly struck the pointed edge of a pair of shears between her outspread fingers as they rested on a surface. A younger girl tried the game, but very gingerly; she was obviously afraid of hurting herself and soon quit. Cat's cradles are said to be made in any season by men or women, but I only observed boys making them. The figures they constructed possessed names. We also observed children (some not so small) playing nursery games that they had learned from youngsters belonging to a previous Hudson's Bay Company's manager. Two aboriginal games were recalled but had fallen into complete neglect: the cup-and-ball and the ring-and-pin games. Several times an interesting experience occurred when we invited Eskimos and Indians to avail themselves of jigsaw puzzles that we had brought along. When two or more Eskimo young men and women tried the game simultaneously, they co-operated, building up a section together, conversing and helping one another as they worked toward a common goal. The Indian young men whom we observed each worked independently on separate portions of the picture. These sections they later proceeded to fit together. Only at that point would Indians co-operate toward completing the total puzzle. Our sample of such behaviour is small, but the behaviour occurred consistently.

ESKIMO-INDIAN DANCES

Dances, along with the almost nightly "keep-away" games, are high spots in the summer calendar at Great Whale River. If the Company vessel is in port, the Moose Factory deck-hands provide fiddling. Otherwise music is provided by an Indian playing on his violin and an Eskimo beating out the rhythm on a packing case, violin case, or dried milk tin. Once an Indian's gramophone provided dance music, but I never observed mouth organs (played both by Indians and Eskimos) being used for this purpose. Reels are the most popular music. Both ethnic groups join in the dancing, though not always with equal willingness and enthusiasm. Sometimes the Company manager, his wife, and visitors to the post also attend without participating.

Dances are arranged with great spontaneity, often late in the evening (eight or nine o'clock). Someone runs to tell the manager in order to secure his permission to use one of the Company buildings. At the same time, news of the affair spreads by word of mouth in the community, and straggling groups carrying bobbing flashlights or lamps begin to make their way to the dance place. Boys and men congregate outside or at one end of the floor, girls and women at the other end of the building. Small children have a wonderful time playing in the centre as everyone waits for things to start. The musicians play several numbers, but nobody claims the floor from the frolicking children. Finally, when the visitor's impatience has run high, Indian boys, nudging and whispering, cross the room and stand before the girls they have selected for partners. The couples walk to the centre of the room, and another period of waiting begins as substitutes are found for some reluctant young lady (usually Indian) who shyly refuses the invitation to dance. Usually there are more Eskimo girls than can be accommodated in a dance; *they* rarely refuse. We even observed Eskimo girls jockeying for favourable positions at the edge of the dance floor where they would not be overlooked when men set up a number.

The Eskimo's style of dancing differs from the Indian's. The former usually do square dances that have diffused from Moose Factory in relatively recent years. Indians join in these, but it is obvious that they are still learning to square dance. The Indians prefer reels in which a set consists of four or five men aligned opposite four or five women. Both lines dance facing one another. Two such sets (16 or 20 people) make up the dance. The pattern requires that the sets exchange places several times during a number. This they do with a characteristic shuffling gait, men in one single file and girls in another. Instead of walking (dancing) strictly one behind the other at this time, two Indian girls often huddle together or hold hands, as though for security. Reels are differently described by McLean (1849: 272):¹ "Two rows of men and women, sometimes only of one sex, stand opposite to each other, exhibiting no other motion in their dancing than raising their shoulders with a peculiar jerk, bending their knees so as to give their whole bodies, from the knee upwards, the same motion, and grinning horribly at each other, while not a foot stirs." At Great Whale River, Indian men also dance in reels without female partners. Yodel-like exclamations by the men are a fixed part of the reel and occur whenever a set changes its position.

¹ A good description of the typical Indian dance together with a chart illustrating some of the movements is given in Walker's M.A. thesis (1953. 48-49).

To set up an Eskimo square dance requires more work. The dance leader and others assisting him work hard to find the requisite number of couples, usually eight. As a rule the job falls to Simeon Itušaq, who is also said to have been the agent of the dance's diffusion. He exercises rigorous standards. For example, we have seen him reject a too-young but very eager Indian youth and call for an older Eskimo man to replace him. During the ten minutes or so that it takes to assemble a square dance set, somebody may decide to slip out of the group already chosen, possibly as a form of pouting. Then he or she must be induced to rejoin the number, usually with a great deal of laughing, pulling, and milling around. Finally the dance starts and with it come errors. Dancers ignore or do not understand Simeon's English calls and get in each other's way. The dance boss has to straighten out the mixup. He does this with surprising directness and good humour, pulling a couple into correct position and sometimes insisting verbally that a participant perform properly. Simeon really had his hands full on one occasion when he tried simultaneously to introduce and teach a new square dance. When a number is over, the men rush for the door and the cool outdoors to smoke, urinate, or lounge; while the girls, mopping their faces, return alone to their places at their end of the room. After an interval of waiting, another number is organized. Two or more square dances may intervene before Indians organize one of their reels.

The Indians, mainly, if not exclusively, the men, are far more intense and exhibitionistic at dances than the Eskimo, who enjoy the goings-on but seem more relaxed in their pleasure. The greater intensity of the Indians also shows up in other organized activities, like a white-whale-pull and, according to the missionary, at death. Can it be that with respect to closely geared, highly organized group enterprise, the Indians are fishermen for the day, whereas the Eskimos are men who work at fishing for a living? In other words, close-knit group living is more familiar to the Eskimo and therefore less exhilarating for him than for the Indian. However Eskimo emotional reserve may also be a factor in the picture (*see pp. 83-84*).

OTHER INDIAN RECREATION

Soccer, played almost nightly by Indian men, is a rough game to which attention has also been drawn before. A popular game involving skill is one we learned to call the "knife" game. Two or more men compete to throw the point of a pocket knife into the ground, flipping it in turn from various parts of the body. They follow a prescribed sequence. The first player who manages to complete the sequence successfully, wins. When a man misses a move, the next player starts from the point where he missed in the previous round. The knife is flipped from the hand, arm, chest, chin, eyebrow, head, and overhead. I have observed the same game played by boys in the United States. In a less popular form of the knife game, a pocket knife is folded and wound round with a piece of cord 18 inches long. Or else a big silk handkerchief may be used in lieu of cord. One end of the line is tied around the player's wrist. He then throws the knife to the ground, attempting to force open the blade as the string unwinds.

Indians play checkers with a board of twelve squares, the checkers being simple, unpainted pieces of wood. The rules of the game permit a player to move his counters both forward and back. According to one

informant, the hand-game accompanied by drumming had been played in the post during a recent summer. Testing relative physical strength is popular among the Indians. One afternoon Joseph Šašamuš invited me to follow him and another youth into the carpenter's shed where they proceeded to compete in lifting iron objects to different heights. Indians claim still to play the ring-and-pen and the cup-and-ball games. They also make a wooden doll (ajyiikan) with loose joints, which is then suspended from a rod and jiggled to make it dance.

VI. RELIGION

ESKIMO OBSERVANCES AND BELIEFS

My information concerning religious and other beliefs in Great Whale River is much less complete than I like. The explanation again lies in the absence of a suitable interpreter willing or able to work, combined with the long time it takes to gain a working knowledge of the Eskimo language.

Worship is primarily limited to Sundays when people attend service in church. Men and women sit separately, boys on the men's side. The only time a woman sits with the men is at her marriage, and then she also walks to church accompanying her husband. Though very small girls, of course, may be cared for in church by a man, small boys sit with their mothers. In addition to listening to the minister, the congregation sings hymns in Eskimo, looking up the page references or numbers announced by the minister. Church attendance is good, but not everyone goes. Almost on any Sunday one observes women and men who remain at home. No strong sanction attaches to their action. My chief informant said merely that a person who works on Sunday and neglects to attend services is *silaj'tuq*, foolish. On Sundays and certain evenings some Eskimo families hold services in the tents, especially in the winter camps. A leader in the group selects an appropriate reading, being guided by the Anglican Church calendar, printed in Eskimo syllabics. Among men who occupy the role of prayer leader (*arohitui?inga*) are Joe Atlikuq, Paul Cookie, Daniel Cookie, and Simeon Itušaq. Apparently not the same man fulfils the role every Sunday.

Sunday is marked by the firm avoidance of several activities: work (including hunting), playing ball and other games (no harm if children play, but adults should refrain), buying and selling, and travelling. It is permitted to fetch water on the holy day, and should food in camp be lacking, there is no harm in hunting on Sunday. In fact, a Sunday hunt undertaken out of need is likely to be especially successful. The Eskimo recall that they learned about Sunday avoidances from previous missionaries. The Reverend W. G. Walton is said to have been especially strict and is credited with refusing (or threatening to refuse) entry into church of a man who had offended in this way. Harold Udgarten continued to maintain the same inflexible attitude. We thought in 1950, the year after his death, that Sunday work had increased from the previous summer in such small things as wood-gathering by women and hunting by young men. The Company manager occasionally asks Eskimos to work on Sunday when a plane arrives with goods or visitors. Despite violations, the Sabbath rule is surprisingly well observed, both among Eskimos and Indians. On that day the post possesses a special quiet; local or visiting Euro-Canadians who carry on with things they feel they must do are the principle source of disharmony.

The Eskimo are all Anglican. Some believe that the Roman Catholic missionaries in the James Bay area will try to make inroads into their

faith, particularly by trying to influence children. The missionary reinforces this warning in Sunday sermons, especially during the time when Richmond Gulf people are visiting in the post. For at that place, where there is no resident Anglican missionary, the Catholic Church maintains a resident priest and mission.

The Eskimo as I have indicated, possess a religious literature in their own language. Through it they learn about the tenets of Christianity. Among the books available are *Prayer Book and Hymns, Ten Words of God* (dealing with the Commandments), *New Testament, Sermon on the Mount*, and *Peep of Day*. In fact, sacred literature in Eskimo is more voluminous than secular works. The Government's *Primer for Eskimos*, however, was available in 1949, and English comic books had also become very popular in the community. Missionary activity, approximately since the middle of the last century, has thoroughly eradicated aboriginal religious beliefs. It was impossible to obtain from informants a reconstruction of former beliefs. Nevertheless it is likely that the Eskimo at some points interpret Christianity differently from visiting authorities. Indirect support of this proposition can be found in the so-called Belcher Island murders in 1941. Police investigations and the subsequent trial brought out the way that some of these people had reinterpreted elements of Christian belief.

THE BELCHER ISLAND MURDERS¹

Missionary activity in the Belchers is still very slight. In the 1920's an Eskimo catechist, Peter Nepartuq, from Port Harrison, served there for a winter, and until 1941, the year of the murders, mainland missionaries only occasionally called on the rocky shores to perform baptisms and marriages. Other Belcher couples were married on the mainland, presumably in winter when people could cross on the ice.

In 1941, the Eskimo carried on their own religious services, probably under the guidance of Keytowieack (or Kitorii, "Mosquito"). In that year Charlie Ouyerack (or Uragak; also known as Charlie Rock or Charlie Stone), a 27-year-old shaman who was familiar with the New Testament, convinced his neighbours on Flaherty Island that he was Jesus. As foretold in the New Testament, Jesus had returned to earth. Wearing a white surplice, he began to preach to the Eskimo. The leading man in Ouyerack's band was Peter Sala (or Salok), whose sister was Ouyerack's mistress. Peter had been away for some days. On his return he learned that Jesus had appeared and would talk to the people that night. In a spirit of exuberance that recalls the Cargo Cults in Melanesia, one Eskimo, Markusie, shot dead several of Sala's dogs and smashed the man's rifle. What need of these things now that the millenium was at hand! Ouyerack, followed by others, now hailed Sala as God, an act congruent with Sala's position as headman of the group. Sala accepted the notion that he was divine. But the new doctrine also encountered resistance. One girl, Sarah, declined to believe that Ouyerack was Jesus and Sala, God. Her behaviour convinced these men that she possessed the Devil, and so her brother and other Eskimo beat her to death with a snow beater. (The Eskimo at Great Whale River

¹ My reconstruction is based on Calhoun, 1941, and Phillips, 1956, as well as on information received from Harold Udgarten and Joe Atlikuq. Name spellings follow Phillips. See also a fictional account by Sullivan, 1944.

still account for evil by claiming that the Devil somehow controls the evil-doer. There is no explicit theory of possession, however. The thought by some that Catholics are in league with the Devil contributes to the fear and mistrust in which Eskimos hold them. One of the men involved in the case in 1950 explained his own behaviour to be due to the Devil's influence.)

Keytowieack, the catechist, spoke out against Sarah's murder and also expressed his disbelief in Ouyerack and Sala, saying that God and Jesus never would tolerate such butchery. He too was attacked and killed by Adlaykow (Atlikuq) and others, at Peter Sala's command. Asked in 1949 why he had killed, Joe Atlikuq confessed that he did not know. Charlie Ouyerack had impressed him as being Jesus incarnate, and Peter Sala had likewise overwhelmed him with his "big talk."

The belief in Peter Sala being God and Ouyerack, Jesus, was maintained inconsistently with another belief holding that Jesus and God were about to appear. In a nonformalizing social system like that of the Eskimo it is quite possible that for some months such incongruent forms of belief could coexist. The belief in a millenium already reached or, at least, imminent was held so strongly that people neglected necessary work. Open doubt of the fundamental doctrine could not be tolerated. Doubt not only intensified belief but (in a system where murder was not illegal but a private matter?) led to violence.

The third killing occurred in February when Alec Keytowieack, son of the catechist, disavowed Charlie Ouyerack's message. First he was beaten, then harpooned, and later shot to death as he knelt at prayer in his hut. Morbid fear of the Devil prevented the Eskimo from disposing of Alec's body. Later that month Peter Sala, in company with Hudson's Bay Belcher Island post manager, Riddell, visited Great Whale River. Peter confided news of the new doctrine and of the heretics' deaths to Harold Udgarten. Harold asked Riddell for confirmation, but Riddell, although he lived on the islands, knew only that the persons had died, not that they had been killed. According to Harold, Riddell now grew worried about returning to his isolated station, but Harold assured him that he would be safe, because the Eskimo would not injure a "white man." Peter Sala explained to Harold that the Eskimo had not confided in Riddell, because the manager knew too little Eskimo to comprehend.¹ Harold relayed Peter Sala's story to the mainland post manager, Carmichael, who radioed the news outside. The report reached the Royal Canadian Mounted Police on March 14, 1941 (Canada, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, 1941).

Meanwhile in the Islands, Peter Sala's sister Mina, aged about 30, assumed a prominent role in the movement. She announced that the arrival of Jesus was at hand and urged everybody to go out on the ice to meet Him. They would greet the Saviour naked, and Mina tore the clothes off one woman who was reluctant to expose herself to the intense cold. Moses Ouyerack was also slow to remove his pants; when Mina clawed them off, he returned to his house deeply embarrassed. Some of the women brought children out on the ice with them. Quickly they grew numb with cold.

¹ Harold's account of the origin of the movement, which differs from other versions, is hard to accept. According to him a previous Company manager, Robert Cruikshank, had left a Bible behind after his departure from the Belchers. The Eskimo had "worked over" the English text, especially the Book of Isaiah, trying to understand it. The movement grew out of their improper understanding.

But the awareness of danger came too late; four children and two women froze to death. Among the victims were Peter Sala's mother and his other sister.

This ended the deaths. Spring brought police who conducted preliminary hearings at which the Eskimo unhesitatingly told what had happened. Six men and a woman were committed for trial: Peter Sala, Charlie Ouyerack, Joe Adlaykok, Quareck, Apawkok, Akeenik (also known as Siluqtšug), and Mina Sala. A judge of the Ontario Supreme Court came in mid-August to hold trial. Mina Sala was declared insane. Apawkok and Akeenik were found to be not guilty on account of temporary insanity. The others, with the exception of Adlaykok, were sentenced to two years at hard labour at Moose Factory where Ouyerack subsequently died. Joe Adlaykok received only a one-year sentence. He told me that Akeenik had also been sentenced to imprisonment at Moose Factory. His account therefore disagrees with Phillips (1956). In Moose Factory, where Joe did casual labour around the R.C.M.P. station, he managed to learn some English. Meanwhile his family remained in the Belchers and received relief with the result that they "ate big." Following his release from sentence he, like Peter Sala, was banished from the Belchers to the mainland. Joe's family travelled from the Islands in the Hudson's Bay Company's annual vessel and settled with Joe at Great Whale River. Peter Sala on his release went to Port Harrison. Joe denied that there was any relationship between the episode in the Islands and pibloktoq (piilaktak in Great Whale Eskimo dialect). After the murders, according to the post manager in 1949, the Government planned to move all the Belcher Island population to the mainland and even communicated these plans to the Hudson's Bay Company, whose vessel was to do the transporting.¹ The post manager (he is the same man who served in Great Whale River in 1949) advised the Belcher Island people to be ready when the "*Fort Charles*" arrived, and the people even killed their dogs in anticipation of the move. At the last minute the order was rescinded.

INDIAN OBSERVANCES AND BELIEFS

On several occasions we observed Sunday services being conducted in the Indian encampment, usually in the tent of the prayerman or catechist, John Mamiamiskam (cf., Twomey and Herrick, 1942: 118). The catechist reads in Montagnais-Naskapi, and the group joins in in the hymns. When the missionary is not in the post to conduct Sunday services, the catechist also holds forth in church. We heard him one Sunday as he preached a long and vigorous sermon. He stammered over some of the big words he read and coughed frequently, perhaps to cover his confusion. When the service ended, he followed the custom of the missionary and stood at the church entry to shake hands as the people departed from church. Indians respect the prayerman as a repository of esoteric lore and refer to him as a mitaw (shaman or, better, person with special ability). Once I sought to learn about how hair and fingernail parings were disposed of. My informant advised me to ask the prayerman about such customs. Indians, too, segregate the sexes in church, and women leave the building first after

¹ The Report of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (Canada, 1943: 51) states that the Eskimo decided to migrate to the mainland owing to the closing of the Company post. The Report expresses fear lest the displaced people become a "relief charge" on the mainland.

service. They go straight home, whereas men congregate outside the door for a few minutes before returning to the tents. In small, decorative sacks of embroidered cotton cloth men carry the books they use in worship. Indians also avoid work on Sundays.

More than among the Eskimo, aboriginal religious concepts survive among the Montagnais-Naskapi. Attitudes of respect for certain animals are readily admitted. The bear is referred to by circumlocutions like "old man" (Walker, 1953: 66), and its meat and bones are never given to dogs. They are disposed of in water. "If you leave around his bones," one young man said, "the bear will not get fat." Women may eat from the bear head but they may not touch the tongue, a part reserved for men and boys. The skull is mounted on a pole or cached in a tree, together with the dried eyeballs. "If you leave him on the ground, then the bear will see you when he is far away." Only men and boys eat the head of an otter. People withhold otter and beaver flesh from dogs and dispose of the bones in a river or lake; the skull goes in a tree. "If you leave around beaver bones, beaver get frozen." The eyeballs of the beaver are not eaten but disposed of in a tree cache with the skull. The only reason given for avoiding the eyes is that they are hard and very small. People also do not eat the tail of a beaver, but my informant could not explain its disposal. The bones of the Canada goose, blue goose, and the snow goose, as well as those of the loon are collected and covered with moss and fresh willows. "We don't want to leave around his bones, because he will not get fat next spring." All these bones are withheld from dogs for the same reason, so that the animal will grow fat. Dogs are fed fish and whale meat without restriction. In an interesting expression of cultural relativity, another informant said that it was all right for the white man to feed otter, beaver, and other animal flesh to dogs, but such behaviour would be improper for Indians.

Excessive water drinking must be avoided by boys, but not by girls because they don't "run around much." Excessive water interferes with a boy's endurance and causes stomach ailments at those times when he must exert himself. It also makes catching cold easy. Young children must take tea only in moderation, for it is dangerous to the stomach. Muskeg ("country") tea is wholly restricted to old people, being far too strong for children and young people of either sex. A different sort of avoidance bans whistling at night. "It is not nice—Indians never do that." The same restriction applies to shouting, but the informant could not explain why. He said that the prayerman advises this, just as he advises not walking abroad at night. Both restrictions may refer to courtship activities conducted under the cover of darkness.

Songs for success are sung before undertaking tasks like making a knife, snowshoes, or a toboggan; hunting white whales and trapping fur-bearing animals (cf., Twomey and Herrick, 1942: 160). Songs are also sung in the event of illness to promote healing. Singing is by men—generally elderly men—although old women, too, may know and use powerful songs. A man able to sing for "luck" is a mitaw, but, if I understood correctly, singing for luck is more a matter of "fun" than mitawawin. Songs are learned merely by listening, or they may be taught in return for payment, say a dollar for a long song. Some songs come in dreams, but mainly old men dream songs. There is no longer any deliberate dream quest for guardians, though in the past such behaviour obtained.

As in James Bay, considerable thought is given to mysterious strangers—"bogeymen" they are called here (the English word is used). Jimmy Arithnaypiimiiko told us of an experience with one of these creatures:

I see a bogeyman yesterday. During the night at twelve o'clock. He was standing there by the church at twelve o'clock, half-past twelve o'clock, when everybody was sleeping. He wants to speak. I don't understand. He speak low. [What language?] English. I don't understand. [Did you go over to him?] No, because I have no light . . . [He was] not big, just like your father [the last words addressed to my son]. He wear a long raincoat. [Were you afraid?] No sir. I was laughing and he run into the bush. I'm sure that's the bogeyman. [Where does the bogeyman stay in daytime?] In the willows. If you hunt him you find him. He is very scared. Bogeyman never hurt anybody.

Yet, despite the assurance that the bogeymen was not dangerous, Jimmy at that point threatened some Indian children who were in the room, warning that the bogeyman might catch them. On another occasion, according to Nathan Altshuler, Jimmy claimed he had once killed a white bogeyman by shooting him in the shoulder. The man wore glasses and a yellow shirt, blue pants, and rubber boots. Altshuler's field notes conclude with the notation, "I think he [Jimmy] was half afraid." Apparently some bogeymen resemble Indians rather than white men. In the thick willows they can be heard talking in a strange tongue. Sometimes they try to enter Indian tents in the bush. In the post, bogeymen have been heard talking English. Groups of bogeymen travel in canoes. They may be heard making sounds like a spray or mosquito bomb. The emotion aroused by bogeymen is difficult to define, both for Great Whale River and Attawapiskat, where the same concept (there called *otšipwew*) occurs. The bogeyman apparently arouses a moderate degree of anxiety rather than strong apprehension. People who have seen one of these creatures recognize their experience to be out of the ordinary. My tentative conclusion is that the bogeyman constitutes a projection of people's curiosity and interest in Euro-Canadians. Frequently bogeymen are perceived wearing the clothes and travel regalia (cameras, glasses) of Euro-Canadian visitors to the North. The emotions directed toward the creature are probably similar to the mixed feelings which the Indian reserves for white persons. I am sure that informants actually "see" what they take to be bogeymen, but I do not believe that the experience is a vision. The perception may be based on stimuli indistinctly perceived in twilight, at night, or in a semi-awake state. A high level of characterological anxiety enters into the conceptualization, particularly in Attawapiskat.

VII. CONCEPTUALIZATION OF NATURE

In this section I propose to discuss conceptions and classifications of time, space, and other phenomena significant to the Eskimo and Indian. It hardly seems necessary to say that everybody in the community is familiar with Euro-Canadian concepts of the hour, day, and year; nearly every tent contains a clock. In the summer of 1949 the Hudson's Bay Company and the Eskimo community operated on Daylight Saving Time, but the Indians, who do not work for the Company, maintained Eastern Standard Time.

ESKIMO CONCEPTS

Apparently the Eskimo conceive of the past and future as a single time dimension which they call *akuni*. It is that time which is not now; the present emerges from *akuni* and again returns to *akuni*.

Informants distinguished six seasons:

The period around May	<i>opingasa'mi</i>
The period around June	<i>opingna'mi</i>
Summer (July and August)	<i>awra'mi</i>
The period around October	<i>okiatsa'mi</i>
When water begins to freeze	<i>okia'mi</i>
When the sea is frozen over, winter	<i>okiu'mi</i>

The passage of seasons provides an ecological standard by which elapsed solar years are counted, but the fact remains that the Eskimo do not keep track of their ages, though they know how old young children are. This failure to keep track of age has begun to present problems. Once a child reaches 16 years he is no longer eligible for family allowances. The census lists everyone's year of birth, but parents sometimes regard these dates as inaccurate, a complaint usually made when a child is about to be removed from family-allowance rolls. Yet the family cannot furnish proof of age. Eskimo and Indians receive a pension when they reach 70, but an ageing person who claims the pension may have trouble supporting his right.

With reference to space, language distinguishes *pi'na*, "up," from *ka'na*, "down." Between these directions is *o'na*, "here." For the inbetween level, at least four directions are specified which give their names to the winds:

<i>taqa'ni</i>	Toward the darkness; <i>taqamii'tu</i> is the designation for the north wind
<i>sia'xini</i>	Toward the light (sun); <i>sia'kiinomii'tu</i> designates the south wind
<i>paw'nga</i>	With the rising land; upward; <i>pawnga'tu</i> designates the east wind
<i>samaa'ni</i>	Toward the sea; downward; <i>samo'ngatu</i> designates the west wind

Obviously the people, because of ecological factors, find it useful to make many distinctions in environmental Eskimo terms that people using English neglect. For example, there are distinctions in ice (cf., Hawkes, 1916: 27):

sii'kuq	Ice in general
sii'kwaq	Thin, newly formed ice
siikuli'aq	Bare ice without snow cover (good for travelling on)
tu'vaq	The heavy ice formed in the relatively quiet sound, as distinguished from the ice of the Bay proper
pu'taq	Name given to the broken ice which floats off-shore in early summer

So too the Eskimo distinguish between kinds of snow (Twomey and Herrick, 1942: 71). As these facts suggest, the people not only categorize but simultaneously evaluate their landscape in terms of the way it meets needs or presents difficulties. A stony terrain which makes walking or, rather, climbing difficult, they call a poor country.

As the following list of colours testifies, the Eskimo reveal no blue-green colour identification, although my informant did class green and yellow in a single category.

Red	awpaq'taq
Blue	tunuyu'taq
Green	itiayo'yaq
Black	kinnii'taq
White	xako'taq
Yellow	itiayo'yaq

Like other hunting people, the Inuit of Great Whale River are mainly practical in the attention they give to the zoological component of their environment. Their powers of observation force them to pay attention mainly to obvious features in the milieu. Note, for example, the bases on which the harp, jar, ranger, and bearded seals are distinguished from one another. The harp or saddleback seal (kajyo'liq) which is large, is characterized, says the informant, by two black lines running along the dorsal surface. In September it is known to occur around Wolstenholme at the northeast corner of Hudson Bay, but generally it does not approach the east coast. Hence it is rarely taken off Great Whale River. (Belcher Island Eskimo are reported to kill it more often.) The skin, which is strong, is much favoured for line, but it is highly undesirable for boots because it shrinks. The jar seal (ne'tšiq) is the most common species taken around Great Whale River. Because the skin freezes only slightly in cold weather, it makes excellent boot soles and has a multitude of other uses. For example, it provides the ava'taq, or float, used in whale hunting; material for making trousers (ka'liq) (some people, like Daniel Angotikaluk and Joe Cookie, still use such garments wearing the hair outside); material for mittens (sing., palu'q), which, like trousers, are made with the hair on the outside; material for bags (sing., poha'taq), used to carry game; and also goes into making the gun case (pooq). It provides line for sewing the cover kayak; in fact the cover itself is derived from sealskin. Joe Atlikuc

that the skin of the jar seal was still providing material for tenting on the Belcher Islands, as it did on the mainland until recently. The ranger or freshwater seal (*kasiyi'aq*) is found in freshwater lakes in the Belchers and also at Seal Lake, a body of water located inland from Richmond Gulf (cf., Twomey and Herrick, 1942: Ch. 15). The skin is used by the Belcher Island people for boots and line; its great value lies in that it does not freeze; hence it makes excellent line for winter use. The bearded or square-flipper seal (*u?'yuuq*) is valued because the skin is strong and makes stout line and strong boot bottoms. But in winter the skin is practically useless for boots, because it freezes quickly.

The human life cycle is divided into a number of stages, the names of which can all be modified in order to make still finer distinctions. The main periods are given below:

<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	
nuta'ya	nuta'ya	A baby
kakala'	kakala'	A stripling; he is not a long or fast walker and is unable to hunt
angotia'ru	anna'ru	Young man or lady not yet ready for marriage or full family responsibility
angotima'viq	angnama'viq	Young man or lady ready for marriage or just married
a'nggotiiq	anna'q	Man; woman
ii'tuq	niniw'	Old man; old woman
iitua'lu	niniwa'lu	Very old man; very old woman

In addition, the term *unacuwii'yuuq* is applied to a stripling who has younger siblings. A girl who is just entering adolescence is referred to as *nivia'ksiaq*.

One socially standardized reaction of the most importance in this ethnic group is the smile (cf., Onraet, 1949: 55, 109). A mother deliberately encourages her child to smile, but the habit takes time to learn. I noted times when I smiled at small children who, in return, gave me a quick, almost automatic, upturn of the corners of the mouth. Then instantly they relaxed the lips in confusion. Soon, however, the smile is turned on confidently and fully, with every appearance of genuine warmth and inner confidence. Actually, however, these qualities do not always motivate the smile. Smiling also serves people as a defensive manoeuvre in situations of tension. We observed a number of people being inoculated and saw them momentarily lose the smile as the needle sank into the flesh. Then they restored the gesture as soon as they met another person's glance. The smile is inappropriate in some circumstances. For example, girls walking down the church aisle after being confirmed at the altar kept a blank countenance, avoiding people's eyes, though one girl involuntarily smiled in mild confusion. In Sam Crow, Hudson's Bay Company outpost manager, I noted a defensive use of laughter. He laughed when he failed to comprehend immediately an English statement addressed to him. Sometimes he

cut laughter short as the meaning of what was said flashed into his consciousness. A nervous sucking in of breath is a more common response of people, but I could not definitely ascertain the conditions under which it occurred.

INDIAN CONCEPTS

The Indians of Great Whale River differentiate between blue and green, as the following sample of vocabulary indicates, though they, like the Eskimo, "confuse" green and yellow.

	<i>Animate</i> ¹	<i>Inanimate</i> ¹
Red	mikwaw'	midwa'siw
Blue	pi'tskinaw	pi'tskinisiw
Green	oša'waw	oša'wasiw
Black	weipaw'	weipa'nisiw
White	wapaw'	wa'pasiw
Yellow	oša'waw	oša'wasiw

We obtained some natural history data from an English-speaking informant. These concern the habits of the beaver, black bear, brown bear, otter, and white whale.

Beaver. The ami'sk, which is to be found only in forested country, disappears once the treeline is crossed into the tundra. For food it relies on willow bark and on the bark of the minahek (red spruce). But it does not eat the dry, hard outer flakes of this bark. It relishes a cream-coloured grass (oškii' tiimoj) that grows in creeks and lakes and reaches three inches in diameter and three feet in height. The muskrat also finds this plant edible. (The grass is ignored as food by the Indians.) The beaver eats no animal flesh, fish, common grass, or berries. It constructs its dwelling on the bank of a lake or stream, using mud and sticks as materials. The structure is dome-shaped. Near the house in the water the beaver plants a number of willow poles at an angle and weighs them down with a heavy pole. It dams the outlet of the lake in which it has located its domicile and thereby ensures that there will be water too deep to freeze solid in winter. Unfrozen water allows the animal to swim to its food cache of willows. For protection against extreme cold the beaver depends on the thickness of the mud with which it builds its house. If two families occupy a single dwelling, two passages lead in, but a single entry suffices for a single family. The beaver begins house construction in November and finishes the job in December. Animals of both sexes co-operate; sometimes young beaver also work. Breeding occurs in March, and the young are born in May, a single female producing from two to four young. When the young are able to swim, the family leaves the den and moves into a large creek, swimming either with or against the current of the stream in which they are located. They never travel more than a mile or two and sometimes return to the original house, which they repair for reoccupancy. A pair of beaver remain together for three or four years. The young, however, desert the family after they are about one or two years old. Then they undertake to build their own dwell-

¹ One informant was willing to explain why nouns fell into two classes: long ago there was a mixture of languages belonging to people who arrived in this territory from diverse places.

ings. Sometimes beaver fight, usually over access to food. Occasionally a strange pair of beaver move into a dwelling which they did not construct and find it already occupied. This act does not provoke aggression. An unattached adult beaver may also join a bisexual pair. More than three adults only uncommonly live in a family. The informant specifically denied that a couple who possess a house would ever drive away an intruder. To catch beaver a trap is placed in the outlet or inlet to a lake. The trap may be located along the passage which leads to the dwelling. Beaver are also taken by breaking down the roof of the house, first blocking the entry passage with a pole fence. The animals are seized by hand or with a gaff hook. The beaver never attacks "when you catch him." A gaff hook (otšiikwaa'tšikan) is made by bending a 12-inch file and hafting it in a wooden pole, a task requiring about five or six hours. Prior to the use of iron for hardware the gaff hook was probably made of bone.

Black bear (also called musk, kiišaj'yak, or šaj'u; the latter two terms, and probably also the first, are circumlocutions). The black bear lives in hilly country where willows and creeks are abundant. Sometimes it travels to the coast, slowly swimming downriver. For food it takes all kinds of berries and spring willow buds, and kills muskrat, whitefish, and trout (which it takes with its "hand"). The black bear eats duck and other eggs whole with the shell and is fond of ants. For its dwelling the "old one" digs a hole in the side of a hill, burrowing seven or eight feet into the earth. A male bear makes its hole slope downward, but the hole runs upward for a female animal. Though the den is excavated in September, occupancy is delayed. From the time its house is built, the black bear remains near the place where it will winter. This is the time when it scratches trees in the vicinity of its den. It does this in order to free its paws (claws?) of dirt that gathered there while it was digging. When the snow becomes fairly deep, it moves into the den which it has furnished with a bed of grass about a foot deep and with a few willow branches. Kiišaj'yak remains holed up until April, by which time the snow has left the ground. Young are born in May, the breeding season having occurred in September, before housebuilding commenced. One or two young are born at a time. Male bears fight, but females never do, nor do males fight females. One occasion for aggression is the attempt by one male to usurp the female partner of another. Fighting occurs over food, and the attempt of an animal to take possession of a den which he did not construct is also strenuously resisted. A bear is jealous of his trails and will attack another bear it encounters using the same way. If a bear is angry, it may attack a man. Its strength is sufficient to break the victim's bones. Yet the animal, because of poor distance vision, is under a serious handicap when it comes to avoiding danger.

Brown bear (kotšii'us). My informant had little to say about the brown bear, perhaps for the good reason that this is the same species as the animal which we had previously been discussing. However, he did claim that the brown bear does not hibernate like the black variety but "walks around" all winter.

Otter (nitši'k). The otter eats fish, frogs, muskrats, and very small beaver. It constructs no den and spends the whole winter walking around. When the young are born in March, the mother finds refuge in a crevice

between some rocks. Small otter fight. For example, should the mother catch a fish, the younger animal may aggressively try to seize the food. In the autumn a parent readily yields food to its offspring, with the result that young otter grow fat for the winter. In that season the animal travels great distances; then with spring, he restricts his radius of operation. In cold weather the otter is a timid, wary animal, and hard to trap. A man out to catch otter selects a small creek, preferably a place with falls. He locates the trap in the middle of the water and erects a barrier extending toward the shore on both sides. The barrier forces the animal to swim toward the trap.

White whale. On fine days the white whale ascends a river in search of all kinds of fish. Another reason for entering a river is to give birth. This function it performs in summer.

BEHAVIOURAL REACTIONS

Very conspicuous is the tendency of young Indian men to have bodily contact with one another. In a group it is common for men to stand with arms playfully around one another's shoulders and to wrestle and thrust their bodies forcefully against one another. The person who receives the thrust tries, by exerting counter-force, to ward off the blow. In the Company store a young man leans heavily on somebody who is already leaning, bent nearly double, across the counter. Mild wrestling then breaks out as the person underneath tries playfully to dislodge the increasingly uncomfortable weight of his companion.

A second conspicuous behavioural reaction is mouth breathing. A third is laughter, a reaction that often serves as an escape valve in situations of embarrassment or tension. The victim of a mild accident laughs as heartily as do the people who witnessed his dilemma.

We learned of one case of mental illness that occurred at Richmond Gulf around March, 1947. Don Patam (pseudonym) became so violent that he threatened the safety of other people. He was first cared for by the Roman Catholic missionary, and then he was fetched by Mr. Webster, Company manager at Great Whale River. In the post Don was confined to a small bunkhouse, an isolated building. His feet were tied. Once he broke out of the building and terrified Eskimo living near by. On another occasion he tried to set fire to the house. As a result, the stove used for heating had to be enclosed by a wire screen. Two young men, Mosquito (an Eskimo) and Bill McKay, a Company clerk, camped near the building in a tent. At night they heard Don sing and dance. In early summer he was sent to Moose Factory by plane, and when he returned he appeared to be well. His daughter married in July, 1949.

APPENDIX

GREAT WHALE RIVER ESKIMO* PERSONALITY AS REVEALED BY RORSCHACH PROTOCOLS

BY FRANCES N. FERGUSON

Rorschach tests were administered by John J. Honigmann to four adults, four children, and one adolescent of the Great Whale River Eskimo in July and August of 1950. The tests were given privately in a small room, unfamiliar on the whole to the Eskimo. One adult and two children refused to hold the cards. The children appeared somewhat uneasy in the situation. The performance-proper phase of the Rorschach procedure was done in the Eskimo language, followed by an inquiry with the aid of an interpreter. Owing to the language limitation it was not possible to arrive at determinants with the same ease as with Indo-European speaking people. For this reason there must be a certain amount of speculation as to what the determinants actually were. The Rorschach protocols were checked and rechecked in an effort to be sure that the determinants were valid.¹ The most doubtful entity is the F column (F signifies form alone used as a determinant). A preponderance of F responses, where other determinants are meagre, indicates an "Impoverished" personality, one constricted and unwilling to look beneath the surface of things. This is sometimes the result of early experience, from which the individual has learned to fear emotional participation and becomes unable to utilize his inner resources. Of the seemingly large F percentage in Great Whale River Eskimo responses, one asks whether another hidden determinant is operating, one unrevealed because of language difficulty. After careful examination of all the seeming F responses, it appears that the hidden determinant, the only possible one from a technical standpoint, might be Fe (texture). Fe signifies awareness of affectional needs, tact, and sensitivity. The F percentage in the Great Whale River Eskimo Rorschachs, then, might be invalid as it appears on our chart, and it is possible that the Fe percentage is greater.

The only other questionable aspect of the determinants is the shortage of colour responses. The colour response, controlled or uncontrolled, signifies overt emotional response to environmental stimuli, particularly to human relationships. Theoretically, the Eskimo has been described as smiling, affable, happy in his relationship to the group. That he would have few colour responses was at first surprising. Careful examination of the responses in each protocol revealed that few, if any, colour responses had been overlooked in the scoring. Unlike the subtle factor, Fe, which could easily remain hidden by the language barrier, a colour response is more readily recognized. Of the nine Eskimos' 172 main, and 18 additional, responses, only 13 are determined by colour. The content of the colour responses is blood, lungs, heart, meat, fire, red smoke, and two equivocal references to land (FC), most of which suggest difficulty in emotional relationships.

*All Eskimo names in this section are pseudonyms.

¹ Scoring and interpretation according to Klopfer, Ainsworth, Klopfer, and Holt, 1954.

As the dearth of responses on the introversive side is quite clear, they need not be questioned technically. It is perhaps worthy of note that of the four children, three have one M response each, and three have one FM, but of the five older Eskimo only one gives M responses and only one gives an FM response.¹

Form level, which varies throughout each protocol, is, in general, mediocre. The unusual speed of the responses could have contributed to its mediocrity. There was some tendency to confabulate, but very often assembled details suggested a rational attempt toward a whole (and perhaps a connection between the Eskimo polysynthetic language and Eskimo thought processes). In the many responses where the form level appears somewhat vague, one speculates that through Eskimo eyes the delineation is possibly more precise. If texture (Fc) is a contributing factor (though, as noted, unmentioned by the Eskimo and seldom inferred in the scoring), certain aspects which would be of importance to the Eskimo might escape us entirely.²

It follows, too, that although in European culture a high percentage of detail, particularly of animal or anatomical content, suggests insecurity and compulsiveness, these hypotheses may require alteration when applied to a culture as different as that of the Eskimo. It might be that the demands of the Eskimo environment translate what looks to us like compulsiveness into functional activity designed to further the survival of the individual and the group.³ Also, emphasis on unusual details can indicate superior ability.

If there are characteristic personality traits to be found in a specific group of people such as the Great Whale Eskimo, we can do no better than to start with an attempt to describe the traits of individual members of the group. Protocols for the five Eskimo described below will be found at the end of this paper.

Harry Tuktug (pseudonym), a 26-year-old Eskimo man, was head of a household consisting of his wife, his young daughter, his wife's sister and her husband (both 26), and the latter's daughter. Harry and his wife were a popular couple. Throughout the test Harry refused to take hold of the Rorschach cards.

One is immediately struck with the content of this protocol. We find meat, bone, and skin of animals, as well as human chest, lungs, back, backbone, neck and shoulder, all with little elaboration—possibly due to language difficulties. There is no human or animal movement, nor motion of

¹ Hanfmann (in Lantis, 1953: 144), in her interpretation of Nunivak Eskimo Rorschachs, finds children have less constriction and more productivity than adults. Since only a preliminary interpretation, with no supporting scoring material, is available in Lantis's paper, one can only guess the basis of Hanfmann's tentative findings.

² Birket-Smith (1935: 52) writes of the Polar Eskimo, "As soon as they catch sight of the caribou they visualize the hundred details of the forms of the landscape, wind and weather and vegetation, on which the successful outcome of the chase depends . . . The white man who is not so accustomed to noticing these small differences in the appearance of a monotonous undulating tundra or the direction of the drift of the snow over the ice, seems to be witnessing the functioning of a sixth sense . . ." Note, too, the subtle differences denoted by the vocabulary for snow and ice conditions mentioned on page 75.

³ There has been some opinion in favour of the blind analysis of Rorschachs in conjunction with anthropological research, but Klopfer suggests that "it is highly desirable to consider the Rorschach findings in the context of findings from other psychological tests and case history information." (Klopfer, Ainsworth, Klopfer, and Holt, 1954: 251-252). Therefore I shall attempt to bring to bear upon the Great Whale River Eskimo Rorschachs information gleaned in the traditional method of anthropology.

any kind. The introversive side of the psychogram is empty. Responses are few but fast (time was not recorded, but the anthropologist noted the unusual speed of the responses). The unproductivity of Harry's Rorschach performance might be due to a sense of restraint under the testing circumstances. Regarding the introversive side of the psychogram alone, an absence of inner resources, of impulse acknowledgment, and of imaginal ability is notable and suggests either an undeveloped ego or a tendency toward neurotic constriction. Since form level is probably good, from an Eskimo viewpoint, the latter is the preferred hypothesis. It appears that repressive processes are protecting a threatened ego. The other side of the psychogram, however, reveals an affectionate, tactful nature, happy in interaction with others, responsive and yet impersonal when the occasion demands. There is a suggestion that emotions threaten to overwhelm Harry Tuktuq at times, but this is not marked. In general, he responds with even temper, and quickly, to the challenge of the world about him, but his response is overt and lacking in depth. There is no marked organizational ability revealed in the protocol. Harry is able to differentiate perceptually, but abstractions are unknown to him. The protocol's emphasis on human anatomy if found in a European record would indicate anxiety and even pathology—possibly conversion hysteria, where somatic preoccupations replace affect. In an Eskimo hunter unconscious concern with the body and its potency is not so strange when one recalls that these traits mean survival. Preoccupation with animal parts is probably normal for him and may indicate a narrow range of interests and a stereotyped view of the world. In Card IV there is a suggestion of sexual confusion, but one such response is not too meaningful, particularly in view of Harry's successful family life. Harry's practical, matter-of-fact, unimaginative nature could be due to lack of intellectual capacity. On the other hand, he may cling to the certainty of concrete details because he feels that by so doing he avoids danger. His superior ability, if present, may lie in his very devotion to intricate detail. There are indications of defensiveness against loss of control.

Carl Tuktuq (pseudonym) was a 21-year-old Eskimo whose earnings from the sale of such articles as furs, exceeded those of the several other Eskimo listed. Whether this was by dint of being a better trapper or applying himself more assiduously, one does not know.

Like Harry Tuktuq, Carl shows a remarkable lack of introversive qualities. His responses are few and quick. Human and animal detail is prominent, and there is no elaboration of the responses. Carl is less sensitive than Harry, and far more constricted. He appears to have little realization of affectional need, but the presence of this trait may be concealed owing to lack of inquiry. Most remarkable are the complete absence of overt emotional response to the environment and a low degree of inner response. Devoid of imagination or inner resources, Carl's whole being appears to be dedicated, probably unconsciously, to control. Details are important to him, and he is incapable of abstraction. In short, neurotic constriction would be suggested if this record were a European one. But the compulsiveness suggested by Carl's protocol may have a different meaning in Eskimo culture. Possibly it is a successful defence against anxiety and deep emotional involvement.

Terry (pseudonym), 16-year-old Eskimo girl, lived in her parents' tent with a younger brother and sisters. She acted as servant in the household of the anthropologist, spending her wages on personal adornment rather than sharing it with her family, as might have been expected. Terry was not only swift but also prolific in her responses to the Rorschach cards. She produced 56 responses (20 of which were unidentifiable) in 16 minutes. Some of her responses bear little resemblance to the ink blots, while others are fairly good form. She confabulates freely, perhaps in an attempt to please and impress the examiner. Anatomy is absent from the protocol content, but a soaring F column suggests either natural or neurotic constriction. Some diffuse anxiety about affectional needs is indicated by the presence of fog and smoke. A tendency to act out emotions in uncontrolled fashion is repressed. Emotional response in Terry could be violent. Depth of emotion is lacking, but there may be more sensitivity than is immediately apparent in the protocol. The one movement response, fighting dogs, suggests here the repression of aggression, but also the presence of some awareness of impulse life. Terry defends herself against insecurity by clinging to limited areas of certainty, and she is not interested in relationships between facts. She may be somewhat compulsive.

Sam Naroll (pseudonym), age 20, unmarried, gave 26 responses in 12 minutes. He is the only one of the four adults and one adolescent who shows an M response, and he gives four. The M's are tentative, however, with no active motion. This indication of some availability of fantasy and creativity is somewhat negated by the soaring F column, and the presence of only one colour response, an equivocal one. Apparently, emotional investment is almost impossible for Sam. He achieves control by withdrawal and repression. He is stereotyped in his thinking and, like the others, clings to details; he is extremely practical and quite meticulous.

Ralph Crown (pseudonym), 14 years of age, was unmarried and lived with his parents and four sisters. Ralph was a man in appearance, and his protocol, in general, resembles that of the men. Already a hunter, he sees animal and human parts in the ink blots. He has, however, more potential emotional responsiveness than all the males except Harry Tuktuq and appears to have more sensitivity than even the latter. His need for affectional response is great, but he is cautious in emotional contacts. His protocol is characterized by repression, perhaps related to a suggestion of violence in his emotional life. Like most of the others, his world is a limited and stereotyped one. He has no interest in seeing or organizing relationships. He is perceptive but confines his interest to details. There is some suggestion of hostility, anxiety, compulsiveness, and perfectionism.

The children's Rorschachs have much the same characteristics as those of the adults, except that there are traces of imaginal ability and potentiality for utilization of inner resources. Even the children appear to be emotionally constricted. The youngest, age 6, has a more holistic approach than the others. To a European eye the children's form level appears to equal that of the adults.

Marshalling the material gleaned from the Great Whale River Eskimo Rorschachs, there seem to be certain common personality tendencies. The Great Whale River Eskimo has little availability of inner resources, nor is there a latent stock of them. Imaginal ability is very low, and there is almost no introspectiveness. This individual is neither concerned with

self-development nor oriented toward the future. He has little conscious recognition of instinctual impulses, nor any feeling that drives endanger security. He is not preoccupied with the existence of impersonal power.¹ There are indications of defences against anxiety.

On the extratensive side we find that, while the Great Whale River Eskimo is an extrovert and spends much time in direct and spontaneous interaction with others, there appears to be unwillingness or inability to participate with intensity in human relationships. Emotional participation seems to be fraught with danger, uncertainty, and the possibility of loss of control.² There are some indications of hesitant emotional response to the environment, and there may be some emotional investment in food, specifically meat (which might symbolize prowess in the hunt, generosity, or even dependence and anxiety).³ Awareness of affectional need, tact, and sensitivity are present to some degree, and there may be a good deal more which has been mistakenly subsumed under the F column. Sexuality is normal except in the case of one man, who may be somewhat confused over his sexual identity.

The Great Whale River Eskimo tends to be swift but meticulous in his responses. He follows a traditional pattern of control, and his view of the world is stereotyped. He is not greatly interested in causative factors of an abstract nature, nor in achieving an organized view of the world. Where organizational ability is present, it shows up in masterfully assembling small parts. The Eskimo is satisfied with surface appearances and does not look deeply into things. He has a narrow range of interests. He is concrete in his thinking and has ability to differentiate perceptively but is rather dependent and may derive his security from clinging to limited areas of certainty. His constriction, compulsiveness, and perfectionism may serve as a very realistic way of reducing anxiety and defending against loss of control in an environment so demanding. He avoids the depths of emotional experience or represses emotional discomfiture behind his traditional smile.

How do the Rorschach results concur with the friendly, resourceful, deferent, flexible, confident Eskimo personality described by anthropologists (cf., Honigsmann and Honigsmann, 1959): The Eskimo who shows quick sympathy with another's suffering and who weeps upon saying good-bye to a European; the Eskimo who shares his food, participates in ball games in which the players are both male and female, and rears his children in such a kindly manner that upon reaching adulthood the individual does not know how to meet a slight—how can such a person be

¹ Lantis (1953 and 1959) found the Nunivak Eskimo very much concerned with impersonal power.

² We have read (p. 47) how Carl Tuktuq and his young wife refrained from greeting one another in public after his absence of several days. Peter Freuchen (1935: 227) notes this among Greenland Eskimo. "In fact the natives resent public displays of emotion and stifle all evidences of it except humour. A man and woman never say good-bye when taking leave of each other . . . to do so would have been an enormous breach of good taste, and a certain indication that their minds were upon us rather than their work. Every man and woman is, theoretically, self-sufficient in his emotional, as well as actual, needs . . ."

³ Lantis (1953: 133) finds food anxiety among the Nunivak Eskimo associated with oral aggression. Not only does insecurity, because of literal hunger, form the basis of this anxiety, but also the "guilt and fear of retaliation for killing and eating the animals, which have souls." Among the West Alaska and Nunivak Eskimos, many myths present vengeful biting animals and a large number of instances of human-animal conversion. Irresponsible aggression toward game animals is deplored. Into the relationship between man and animal "the individual puts his strongest emotion. Since animal spirits tend to cut and bite back, the Eskimo's everyday behaviour thus becomes a threat to him."

compulsive and inhibited? Is it that the unfamiliarity of the test situation has made him tense and anxious, producing a situational effect in the Rorschach? Is it that he is suffering from acculturation difficulties? Or is it that the Rorschach is designed to reveal depth factors in the personality which do not appear in daily behaviour? And finally, do we not tend to read a Rorschach interpretation in an ethnocentric manner, taking compulsiveness and inhibition in Great Whale River Eskimo society as having the same function as in our own?

Let us look at some of the other aspects of Great Whale River Eskimo personality which have been observed by anthropologists: "The Eskimo accept their fate with little distress and without protest" (Honigmann, 1951: 10). "Underneath apparent optimism ambivalent attitudes sometimes lurk" (Honigmann and Honigmann, 1959: 9). We read of resignation in response to a youngster's death. The mother goes about her work smilingly four days after the death of the child (Honigmann and Honigmann, 1953: 47). Children are strongly reprimanded for hostile aggressiveness. "Overt expression of hostility does not appear readily" (Honigmann and Honigman, 1959: 13-14). Readiness for violence may have existed in the not-so-distant past. We have read of the Belcher Island murders near by, and the literature cited instances of uncontrolled outbursts of violence among other Eskimo groups. In the main, however, the daily intracommunity life of the Eskimo is harmonious and genial.¹

It is apparent that the Great Whale River Eskimo place a very high value on outward poise and community equanimity. But it has been pointed out that there is little social control by way of formal status or sanctions to preserve this equanimity. It appears that on occasions of crisis the individual must repress his deeper emotions for the well-being of the group. (This is not to imply that he knows he does it, or why.) Where people are so closely thrown together and environmental pressures are so great, emotional control may be essential for survival. It is possible, then, that underlying the affable, fun-loving behaviour so typical of the Great Whale River Eskimo, there is a habitual disinclination for emotional involvement, a long-standing mode of adjustment, with the smile sometimes being part of a defence system which prevents emergence of emotional forces disruptive to the harmony of the group. Deep emotional participation might be dangerous to the individual and the community. Hence certain seemingly negative features in the Rorschach protocols (the high F column, the lack of colour response) appear to have a positive function, preserving the harmony of interpersonal relations and individual security. Furthermore, the compulsiveness and stereotypy (seen in the emphasis on detail and anatomy) may foster hunting success in an incredibly demanding environment. Thus defences that in European culture would be energy-consuming might effectively be channelling energy in Great Whale River Eskimo culture.

¹ Jeannette Mirsky (1937: 68-69) writes of a Greenland Eskimo group whose only form of rivalry consists of "drum songs," competitive songs between men who have a grievance. Each man attempts to excel in recounting his grievance toward the other in song, while the latter submits with good grace to being ridiculed and even butted before the audience which congregates for these social occasions. Sometimes the song matches go on for years for the sake of artistry and conviviality, anger and grievance left behind.

Tolerance and acceptance of others are highly valued virtues in Great Whale River Eskimo society. While deep individual attachments may be absent, there is a "ready empathy into another's plight" (Honigmann and Honigmann, 1959: 12). This observation must be held in mind in the effort to interpret not only the meagreness of colour responses, but also the indications of dependency.

Before concluding that the Great Whale River Eskimo personality has been validly delineated by our Rorschach results, some factors must be kept in mind. One must re-emphasize the unfamiliarity of the testing situation and the handicap produced by the language difference. If the validity of the results be accepted, there is still the question of whether the Great Whale River Eskimo tested are typical of their group. If certain attributes of personality found in those Great Whale River Eskimo who were tested are shared by the group, one asks still another question: how much has Great Whale River Eskimo personality changed since the days when no European interposed himself between the Eskimo and his environment? In those days the Great Whale River Eskimo's resourcefulness meant the difference between life and death. Today the values which made his battle with the environment so successful are down-graded by a dominant alien group upon whom he is dependent for one-third or more of his livelihood. Only a few months before the Rorschachs were given, he suffered from hunger and believed it was due to the harshness of the dominant group. On the other hand, he is found by the anthropologist to be happy and well integrated with his own and with the other two groups (European and Indian) that compose the social system of Great Whale River.

It could be hypothesized that the personality structure revealed by these Rorschach protocols conforms to an ancient pattern fostered from parent to child in this Eskimo group, a pattern long successful and now utilized in meeting a new situation, again successfully. Habitual modes of defence found to be useful in the past in maintaining group harmony may even be intensified in the effort to maintain equilibrium. Practicality, meticulousness, swiftness of response, sensitivity, and extroversion with repression of emotional intensity are positive features not only in the sub-Arctic hunting environment but also in the acculturation situation. Possibly resourcefulness and self-acceptance have diminished under the present circumstances. Whether the Rorschach is a valid instrument for the study of non-European personality is another aspect which requires further thought. Do even our concepts of personality have universal applicability? The analysis of the Rorschach protocols is offered tentatively, with the thought that the speculations derived from them would be of interest. Administration of more Rorschachs to Great Whale River Eskimo might clarify some of the difficulties.

RORSCHACH PROTOCOLS

Harry Tuktuq, Age 26, Male, Great Whale River Eskimo

*Performance**Inquiry*

CARD I

Did not take card.

1. Tsetlikitse

Score: W F A

(Some sort of winged creature.)*

CARD II

Did not take card.

1. Chest

Score: D F At

2. Lungs

Score: di FC At

The reddish spots showing in the dark surface of the chest are lungs. Belong to human.

CARD III

Did not take card.

1. I don't know. The back.

Score: D Fe At

Belongs to human. (Indicates flesh and backbone suggested by shading in lower central D.)

CARD IV

Did not take card.

1. What's that? The buttocks and backbone.

Score: d Fe At

Belongs to a human.

1. Is meat. (What kind?) Of a big rabbit.

Score: D Fe Aobj

CARD V

Did not take card.

1. The shoulder

Score: D $\longleftrightarrow$ W F At

(Showed other details on inquiry—neck, backbone: human.)

CARD VI

Did not take card.

Smiled.

1. Skin of some animal

Score: W F Aobj

Just like big ptarmigan skin. (Apparently is form rather than texture.)

CARD VII

Did not take card.

1. A rabbit skin

Score: W,d Fe Aobj

There is one skin. The head is not to be seen. (Indicates tail portion of skin in lower central shaded area.)

CARD VIII

Did not take card.

1. Meat

Score: D,di CF
Food (meat)

The meat belongs to an animal. (Believes it is meat because it looks like it. Points out bone. On return to the card he agreed that the orange portion was also meat. But not the green-blue portions at the top.)

*I have ignored "populars" in scoring. European populars might not be significant among the Great Whale River Eskimo, and we do not have enough records to ascertain what the Great Whale River Eskimo populars are.

CARD IX

Did not take card.

1. Meat again, that one.

Score: D CF
Food (meat)

(After inquiry was made, he maintained that only the red portion was meat.)

CARD X

Did not take card.

1. What is that one . . . deer meat.

Score: D CF
Food (meat)

(Why is that meat?) Looks like it. (What colour is deer meat?) Red—not much red. (Is this red, same like deer meat?) Yes.

Carl Tuktuq, Age 26, Male, Great Whale River Eskimo

*Performance**Inquiry*

CARD I

1. Maybe bone, whole thing.

Score: W F Ad

CARD II

What's that?

No, I don't see first thing.

Rejected.

CARD III

1. Eye
-
2. Nose—I think.
-
3. This—lips (pointed to his).
-
4. This—ears.

Score:

d	}	W	F	Hd
D			F	Hd
D			F	Hd
D			F	Hd

CARD IV

1. What's that bone—moose?
-
- Whole thing is moose skull—just bone, I think.

Score: W F Ad

CARD V

(Tried to reverse it—asking if O.K.
Reversed to look on other side.)
I don't know.
Rejected.

CARD VI

1. Skin—What's that?
-
- (Turned to look on back.) Never see like that—maybe skin. Deer skin?

Score: W Fe Aobj

CARD VII

Oh—What's that. I don't know.
(Said this gently.) I didn't see.

CARD VIII

1. What's that—picture of lion?
Looks just like that. That's all.
Score: D F (A)

Saw lion of this type in a picture.

CARD IX

I don't know—after a moment's pause
—Oh, I don't know.
Rejected.

CARD X

What's that—bone?
Score: D F Ad

(Upper and inner D's)

Sam Naroll, Age 20, Male, Great Whale River Eskimo

Performance (Test began at 10:03 A.M.)

Inquiry

CARD I

I don't know that.

1. A trout fish
Score: D FC' A
2. A frog
Score: W F A
3. Just like a little bird.
Score: Dr F- A
4. Just like a person.
Score: D M H

Just standing with hands over head.

1. Plane
Score: di FC' Obj

CARD II

1. Little bird
Score: W F- A
2. Person
Score: D F H
3. Dog head
Score: Dr F Ad

CARD III

1. Frog
Score: W F A
2. Little Bird
Score: D F A
3. Just like a fly.
Score: D F A

CARD IV

1. Just like fly . . . mosquito.
Score: D F A
2. Person
Score: W F H
3. Dog
Score: D F A

(Do you see feet?) No.

CARD V

1. Little bird
Score: W F A
2. Fly or bug
Score: Dr F- A

CARD VI

Turns card.

1. A fly
Score: D F A
2. Dog
Score: D F A

CARD VII

Turns card upside down.

1. Person
Score: W M H
2. Little bird
Score: D Fe A

(What is he doing?)
Standing with legs astride.

CARD VIII

1. Little bird
Score: D F A
2. Dog
Score: D F A

CARD IX

1. Little bird
Score: D F A
2. Person
Score: D M H
3. River
Score: D FC' N

He is standing with hands behind back.

CARD X

1. Ground (land)
Score: D F $\longleftrightarrow$ C Geo
2. Person
Score: D M- H

Never saw blue land.

He is getting up from a seated position.
Concluded: 10:15 A.M.

Ralph Crown, Age 14, Male, Great Whale River Eskimo

*Performance**Inquiry*

CARD I

1. Chest of an animal like a deer—
bone portion. Bones of chest or ribs.
Score: Di F Ad
2. Its flesh
Score: Dr Fe Ad
3. The chest of the bear only—and it
is the whole blot.
Score: W F Ad

CARD II

1. Buttocks
2. The flesh of the buttocks
3. Front legs
4. Its tail

Score: $\left. \begin{array}{l} D \\ D \\ D \\ D \end{array} \right\} W \quad \begin{array}{ll} F & Ad \\ Fe & Ad \\ F & Ad \\ F & Ad \end{array}$

(What is the whole thing—man or animal?) Animal.

CARD III

1. Bone
2. Front leg
3. Buttocks
4. Lungs
5. Blood

Score: $\left. \begin{array}{l} Dd \\ d \\ D \\ Dr \\ D \end{array} \right\} W \quad \begin{array}{ll} F & At \\ F & Hd \\ Fe & Hd \\ F & At \\ CF & Blood \end{array}$

All human.

CARD IV

1. Whole (flesh)
Score: W Fe A
2. Arm
Score: d F Hd
3. Cheeks
Score: Dr F Hd
4. Lower jaw (or snout?)
Score: D F Ad
5. Teeth
Score: Dd F Ad
6. Snout, mouth, or lips
Score: Dd F Ad
7. Its brain—inside
Score: Di Fe Ad

All animal.

CARD V

1. Its lung
Score: Dd cF Ad
2. Legs
Score: d F Ad
3. Bone
Score: D F Bone
4. Its ears
Score: d F Ad

All animal.

(Whole centre section without direct regard for shading.)

CARD VI

1. Snout
2. Whiskers
3. Eye (pointed to indentations—white space).
4. Back of head
5. Cartilage—such as the soft bone inside the nose.

All animal.

Score: d	} W	F	Ad
D		Fc	Ad
de,S		F	Ad
dr		F	Ad
di		Fc	Ad

CARD VII

1. Bone
Score: d Fc Ad
2. Flesh
Score: Dr Fc Ad
3. Fuzz (such as grows on Noah's cheeks; pointed to projections ascending from figure).
Score: dd Fc Ad
4. Legs
Score: d F Ad

CARD VIII

1. Spinal column (human)
Score: di,S FC' At
2. Lungs
Score: D FC At
3. Heart (animal)
Score: Dr FC,Fc Ad

CARD IX

1. Bone
Score: Dr F At
2. Buttocks
Score: D F At
3. Lungs
Score: D FC At
4. Intestine
Score: d F At
5. Liver (same as 2)

Human.

CARD X

1. Bone
Score: D FC' Ad
2. Lungs
Score: D F Ad
3. Heart
Score: D F Ad
4. Animal's hairs. (Could not identify more closely, except to say caribou.)
Score: D F Ad
5. Kidneys
Score: D F Ad
6. Stomach
Score: D F Ad
7. Legs
Score: D F Ad
8. Blood
Score: D CF Ad

All animal.

Terry, Age 16, Female, Great Whale River Eskimo

Performance (Test began at
10:30 A.M.)

Inquiry*

CARD I

Took card.

- | | | |
|---|--------------------|--|
| 1. Just like duck | Score: d F A | |
| 2. Just like person | Score: D F H | |
| 3. Just like an island | Score: d F Geo | |
| 4. Duck | Unidentifiable | |
| 5. Island | Score: dd F Geo | |
| 6. Dog | Score: dr F Ad | |
| 7. White whale | Score: D FC' A | |
| 8. Food (laughing very much) | Score: dd F Fd | (Laughed again at this.) |
| 9. Just like fog | Score: di K Fog | (Reference to the deeper shadings of some parts.) |
| 10. Xila—difficult to translate; whole thing outside. | Unidentifiable | (Why?) Just like it. (Couldn't figure this out. Reference is to a nice day, when many things can be seen.) |
| 11. Water | Score: S C'F Water | (Four white spots.) |
| 12. Camp | Score: W F- obj | Whole thing a tent—one tent. |
| 13. Table | Score: d F obj | |
| 14. Bed | Score: dd F- obj | |
| 15. Wood | Unidentifiable | |
| 16. Wooden box | Score: dd F- obj | |
| 17. Pail | Unidentifiable | |
| 18. Pencil | Score: di FC' obj | (Reference is to black line running up the middle of the figure.) |
| 19. Clock | Score: di F obj | (Responses cut off by examiner.) |

*Examiner's note: Got mixed up on inquiry over skipped card No. 5. I wonder if this makes any difference as there was so much confabulation. She gave many responses and then identified all—even when I selected the wrong card. The reference to "Xila" in Cards I and II may be re "Sila," the being who among some Eskimo groups personifies the atmosphere (hence Terry's a' to define the concept by saying "outside").

CARD II

Took card.

1. Little birds—three
Score: D F A
2. Like an island
Score: S F Geo
3. Nunze
Unidentifiable
4. Dogs—two
Score: D FM A
5. Xila—"outside"
That's all.
Unidentifiable

(The three red blobs.)

(Doing anything?) Fighting.

CARD III

Took card.

1. Wood
Score: D F wood
 2. Person
Score: D M H
 3. Little bird
Score: D F A
 4. Mosquitoes—little bigger
flies—two
Score: D F A
- That's all.

A piece of wood such as lies around.
There are two persons. They are taking something.

CARD IV

Took card. Studied this longer at start.

1. Wood
Score: d f wood
 2. Flies (or bugs)
Score: d F A
 3. Person
Score: W F H
 4. Nunze
Unidentifiable
 5. Duck
Score: DW F- A
- That's all.

A piece of wood such as lies around.

Two flies.

(Pointed out head at the top.)

(Whole thing is a duck.
Side D's are wings.)

CARD V

1. Just like flies or bugs
 2. Another kind of flies
 3. Nunze
- That's all.
Unidentifiable

CARD VI

1. Just like flies or bugs
Unidentifiable
2. Dog
Score: W F- A
3. Ducks
Score: DW F A
4. Nunze
Unidentifiable

(Whole thing.)

(Whole thing, with head, legs on bottom,
and wings on side.)

CARD VII

1. Just like flies or bugs
Score: W F A
2. Nunze
Unidentifiable
3. Just like fog
Score: Dr K Fog

(Whole thing.)

CARD VIII

1. Dogs—two
2. Wood—trees
3. Big rock
4. Nunze
That's all.
Unidentifiable

CARD IX

1. Fire
Score: D CF Fire
2. Wood or tree
Score: di F Tree
3. Nunze
Unidentifiable
4. Person
Unidentifiable
5. Smoke
Score: D K,CF Smoke
(Put down card definitely.
Yawned extravagantly.)

(Didn't know why she said *fire*, but when pressed said that fire is red.)
A growing tree.

The colour of smoke is a little bit red.

CARD X

1. Flies—two
Score: D F A
2. Wood or trees
Unidentifiable
3. Fog
Score: D K Fog
4. Fire
Score: D CF Fire
5. Small bugs—like mosquitoes
Unidentifiable

Concluded: 10:46 A.M.

TABLE VII
Determinants (No. of)*

No., Name, Age, Sex	M	PM	m	k	K	FK	F	Fe	c	C'	FC	CF	C	Total Responses	Total Time
1. Harry Tuktug..... Age 26, Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	3,3	0	0	1	3	0	11,1	Not given
2. Carl Tuktug..... Age 26, Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	1	0	0	0	0	0	9	Not given
3. Terry..... Age 16, Female...	0	1	0	0	4	0	20	0	0	2	0	2	0	56-20	16
4. Sam Naroll..... Age 20, Male	4	0	0	0	0	0	17	1	0	2	1	0	0	26,1	12
5. Ralph Crown..... Age 14, Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	29	12	0	2	3	2	0	47	Not given
6. Tommy Minor..... Age 10, Male	1	0	0	0	0	0	9,7	1,1	0	0	0	0	0	11,8	13
7. Lillian Meer..... Age 11, Female	1	1	0	0	0	0	6	3	0	1	1	0	0	14	12
8. Agnes Pohl..... Age 6, Female	0	1	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	14
9. Luke Graves..... Age 13, Male	1	1	0	0	1	0	6	1	0	1	0	0	0	11,1	11

* Main responses first, followed by additional responses. All names are pseudonyms.

TABLE VIII

Content* and Location

Subject by Number	NUMBER OF RESPONSES										Specific Content
	A	Ad	H	Hd	At	W	D	d	dd & S		
(1)	1	0	0	0	5 (43%)	3	6,1	1,1	1,1	Human chest, lungs, back, buttocks, backbone, shoulder. Seal skin, rabbit skin, meat, bone, meat.	
(2)	1	2	0	4	0	3,1	5	1	0	Bone—human, lips, ears, moose skull, deer skin, picture of lion, bone.	
(3)	12	1	2	0	0	4	13	5	12	Duck, person, island, dog, whale, food, fog, clear day, water, camp, table, wood, bed, pail, pencil, clock, rock, flies, mosquitoes, fire, smoke, etc. (repetitious).	
(4)	17	1	6	0	0	6	17	0	3,1	Trout, frog, little bird, person, plane, fly, bird, person, dog head, frog, bird, fly, mosquito, person, dog, bird, fly, fly, person, bird, bird, dog, bird, person, river, etc.	
(5)	1	32	0	4	8	2,2	20	8	17	Chest of deer, deer flesh, legs, tail. Human bone, leg, buttocks, lungs, blood. Animal flesh, leg, cheeks, lower jaw, teeth, brain, lung, bone, whiskers, cartilage, fuzz, etc.	
(6)	0	2,2	2	6,4	1,1	1 Add.	6,5	4	3 Add.	Person's chest, arm, back, leg, intestine, etc. Animal's neck, chin, backbone, etc.	
(7)	4	0	1,2	0	0	4,1	8	1	1	Person, doll, log, tree, snow, metal, driftwood, mice, land, tree.	
(8)	4	0	1	0	0	4	3	0	0	Toy, man, dog, wolf, something bigger than a dog, dog, toy.	
(9)	4	0	2	0	0	6,2	2	1	2,1	Bird, island, person, lakes, tree, bird, parka, snow, weasel, fog.	

* Populars and originals not listed.

TABLE IX
Relationships Among Factors*

Subject by No.	F%	FK+F+Fc R	A%	H+A:Hd +Ad	Sum C	M:Sum C	FM m:l:c +c+C'	% Responses XIII, IX, X	W:M	Success- sion	W%	D%	d%	dd & S%	Form Level
(1)	36	63	9	1:0	3.3	0:3.3	0:3	27	3:0		27	54	9	9	Mediocre
(2)	90	100	33	1:6	0	0:0	0:1	22	3:0		33	55	11	0	Mediocre
(3)	55	66	36	14:1	2	0:2	1:2	25	4:0	Confused	11	36	14	33	Poor
(4)	65	69	69	23:1	$\frac{1}{2}$	4: $\frac{1}{2}$	0:3	27	6:4	Loose	23	65	0	11	Mediocre
(5)	63	89	70	1:36	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	0:3 $\frac{1}{2}$	0:13	32	2:0	Loose	4	42	17	35	Mediocre
(6)	81	90	18	2:8	0	1:0	0:1	27	1:1		9	54	36	0	Mediocre
(7)	42	64	28	5:0	$\frac{1}{2}$	1:1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1:4	21	5:1		28	57	7	7	Mediocre
(8)	86	86	57	5:0	0	0:0	1:0	28	4:0		57	42	0	0	Mediocre
(9)	54	64	32	6:0	0	1:0	1:2	21	6:1		54	18	9	18	Mediocre

* Additional responses have been omitted, as in traditional Rorschach technique.

TABLE X
Newly Established Proportions which give Additionals a Rating of One Half*

Subject by No.	M:FM	M:FM+m	FK+Fe:F	Achromatic: Chromatic	Differentiated: Undifferentiated	FC:CF+C
(1)	0:0	0:0	3½:4	3½:4	3½:3	1:3
(2)	0:0	0:0	1:8	1:0	1:0	0:3
(3)	0:1	0:1	4:20	2:2½	0:4	0:2½
(4)	4:0	4:0	1:17	3:1	1:0	1:0
(5)	0:0	0:0	12½:22	14:5	11½:1	3:2
(6)	1:0	1:0	1½:12½	1½:0	1½:0	0:0
(7)	1:1	1:1	3:6	4:1	3:0	1:0
(8)	0:1	0:1	0:6	0:0	0:0	0:0
(9)	1:1	1:1	0:6	2:0	1:1	0:0

* Klopfer, Ainsworth, Klopfer, and Holt, 1954: 245-246.

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A. Eskimo girls



B. Eskimo men and boys watching activity in the river. The man with the pipe is Paul Cookie. To his right is Noah Atlikuq, and to his left (wearing parka), Charlie Tuktuq.



A. One of the members of the anthropological party has arranged a series of games to test Eskimo children's level of aspiration. The woodpile and house belong to the missionary.



B. Eskimo young women, dressed for a berry-picking expedition



A. One of the many ponds behind Great Whale River post where the land begins to rise.



B. View of Great Whale River from the river, 1950. The building to the extreme right is Harold Udgarten's house.



A. Part of the Eskimo encampment at Great Whale River looking toward Hudson Bay.



B. Eskimo sled storage-rack on four-pole cache.



A. Eskimo preparing to leave spring camp for return to Great Whale River post. The canoe was loaned by the missionary, gas being paid for by the anthropologist. The boy to the right, standing on shore, is the anthropologist's son.



B. Three tents belonging to Great Whale River Indians. The girl with her hands in sweater pockets is an Eskimo. The other girl is an Indian.



A. Eskimo girl



B. Rhoda Cookie with her distinctive tonsure, gathering brush for fuel



B. Indian girl



A. Indian girl

PLATE VIII



A. Indian youth



B. Indian youth



Indian couple

